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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

CHARLES C. SMITH.

JOSIAH P. QUINCY.

EDWARD J. YOUNG.

OCTAVIUS B. FROTHINGHAM.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SIXTH SERIES. — VOL. IV.

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Members who have died since the last volume of the Proceedings was issued, Oct. 9, 1890, arranged in the order of their election, and with date of death.

Resident.

Rev. Henry M. Dexter, LL.D.	Nov. 13, 1890.
Hon. Charles Devens, LL.D.	Jan. 7, 1891.

PREFACE.

THE REV. DR. JEREMY BELKNAP has been designated by common consent as the chief among the founders of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY; and at the end of a Century from the formation of the Society it has been thought appropriate to print a volume of selections from his miscellaneous correspondence now in our possession. Dr. Belknap had the characteristic habits of an antiquary, and carefully preserved the letters which he received from his personal friends, as well as the letters and other documents which he gathered in prosecuting his historical researches. Some of these he gave to the Society during his life, and many more have been added to its manuscript treasures by gift from his daughter, the late Miss Elizabeth Belknap, and his granddaughter, Mrs. Jules Marcou. In March, 1858, our lamented associate, Charles Deane, presented an elaborate report on the most important of these donations, and printed in the Proceedings some selections from the papers then received; in 1876, as chairman of the Publishing Committee for the Collections, he edited two volumes of the correspondence between Dr. Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard; and at several other times he communicated less important documents which were derived from the same source. In 1882, another valued member, the late George Dexter, printed in the Proceedings Dr. Belknap's

“Journal of a Visit to the Oneida Indians.” In the present volume will be found selections from Dr. Belknap’s familiar correspondence from 1766 to 1798, numerous letters which came into his possession while engaged in the preparation of the History of New Hampshire, and a minute account of the difficulties between him and his parish at Dover, N. H., together with other papers of historical or biographical interest.

Unfortunately, Dr. Belknap kept copies of but few of his letters to personal friends; and much of his correspondence which probably remains has not been recovered. From references in the letters sent to him, and from the occasional rough drafts preserved by him, as well as from the correspondence with Mr. Hazard, it is evident that he was a very interesting and suggestive letter writer, and the loss or disappearance of so many of his own letters must be greatly regretted. The letters given to him for their historical interest and value relate for the most part to the state of the country just before the Revolution, and are well worth preserving. The narrative of the troubles at Dover is believed to be the most minute and trustworthy document of the kind now existing; but the circumstances of the case were not peculiar, and it is known that in many other parishes the depreciation of the paper currency, during the Revolution and after peace was won, produced a similar state of affairs.

The letters now printed are very miscellaneous in character, and not one was written for any eye but that of the person to whom it was sent, or of some intimate friend. Many of them are marked by extreme carelessness of expression, showing how little attention was paid to grammar and spelling by the best educated persons, even so late as the end of the last century. It has not been thought desirable to correct these errors, or to spell

out the abbreviations, which are numerous and characteristic of the writers. With the exception of making the use of capitals and italics, and the punctuation, conform to the rules generally adopted in our own time, the letters have been printed just as the committee found them. They throw much light on the social, political, and literary life of the period in which they were written; and their entire freedom from reserve gives them a special value. As Mr. Deane wrote in the Preface to the Correspondence between Dr. Belknap and Mr. Hazard, "The freedom with which this correspondence was conducted on both sides, after the acquaintance of the parties to it had ripened into friendship and intimacy, would have operated as an obstacle to its publication at a much earlier period; but time disposes of all such questions."

The life of Dr. Belknap was written with conscientious fidelity and accuracy many years ago by his granddaughter; and its incidents are well known by every student of our literary history, in which he must always be a conspicuous figure. They need not be rehearsed here, except in the briefest outline. He was the eldest son of Joseph and Sarah (Byles) Belknap, and was born in Boston, June 4, 1744. At the age of seven he entered the Public Latin School, where he remained through the whole course of seven years, and then entered Harvard College. He graduated in 1762, having among his classmates Chief Justice Francis Dana, Elbridge Gerry, and the younger Andrew Eliot. After graduating, he taught school in Milton, Mass., and in Portsmouth and Greenland, N. H.; and in February, 1767, he was ordained as colleague pastor of the First Parish in Dover. In the following June he was married to Ruth, daughter of Samuel Eliot, of Boston. On the death of the senior minister of the Dover church,

in March, 1769, he became its sole minister. In this office he continued until the latter part of 1786, when, as the final issue of protracted difficulties, growing out of the depreciation of the currency and the consequent inadequacy of his support, his relations with the church and parish were terminated by the acceptance of his resignation, which had been tendered some time before. In April, 1787, he was installed as minister of the church in Long Lane, Boston, afterward called the Federal Street Church, and now known as the Arlington Street Church. Here he found many friends, and leisure to engage more actively than before in the historical and literary pursuits to which he was always warmly attached. In 1792 he received from Harvard College the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. He died suddenly of apoplexy, on the 20th of June, 1798, being at that time but little more than fifty-four years old.

Dr. Belknap was a frequent and valued contributor to newspapers and other periodicals; and about the time of his removal to Boston he was offered the editorial charge of a magazine in Philadelphia, with a salary considerably larger than that which had been promised him at Dover. The more important of his independent publications were his *History of New Hampshire*, of which the first volume was published in 1784, the second in 1791, and the third in 1792, and the *American Biography*, of which the first volume was published in 1794, and a second volume was passing through the press at the time of his death. Besides these he published, in 1792, a *Discourse* delivered before the Historical Society on the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Discovery of America; in 1795, a *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, which long retained its place in the Congregationalist churches; in 1796, a

humorous account of the settlement of New England and the quarrel with the mother country, entitled "The Foresters," a part of which had been printed in the *Columbian Magazine*; and, between 1772 and 1798, several occasional sermons. Of the *History of New Hampshire*, so competent a judge as the late John Gorham Palfrey expressed the opinion, in an address before this Society, in October, 1844, that "to take a very high rank among writings of its class, it wanted little besides a better theme." Dr. Belknap's other writings enjoyed a well merited popularity during his life, and a new edition of the *American Biography* was published nearly half a century after his death.

The first plan of the Historical Society appears to have been formed by him in the summer of 1790; and in August of that year he drew up a plan for an Antiquarian Society, "for the purpose of collecting, preserving, and communicating the antiquities of America," which was submitted to several friends. It was received with favor; but nothing was formally done until January 24, 1791, when eight gentlemen met at the house of William Tudor, Esq., in Court Street. They were Jeremy Belknap, the Rev. John Eliot, minister of the New North Church, Rev. James Freeman, minister of King's Chapel, James Sullivan, afterward Governor of Massachusetts, Rev. Peter Thacher, minister of Brattle Street Church, William Tudor, an eminent lawyer in Boston, Thomas Wallcut, a zealous antiquary, and James Winthrop, of Cambridge, for many years Librarian of Harvard College, and afterward Judge of the Middlesex Court of Common Pleas. To these names must be added the names of two other gentlemen whom they associated with themselves as original members, and who have ever since been so regarded, — William Baylies, a well

known physician of Dighton, who had served in each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and George Richards Minot, author of a History of Massachusetts and of a History of Shays's Rebellion. In the plan first adopted by them the number of members was to be limited to thirty, but by the act of incorporation, granted by the Legislature in 1794, this number was raised to sixty, and by an additional act of the Legislature, passed in 1857, the limit to resident members was placed at one hundred. No other important modification of the original plan has ever been proposed; and it is along the lines marked out by Dr. Belknap and his associates that the work of the Society has been prosecuted.

For the Committee,

CHARLES C. SMITH.

BOSTON, January 24, 1891.

THE BELKNAP PAPERS.

(CONTINUED.)



PART III.

THE BELKNAP PAPERS.

JABEZ FITCH TO _____.*

Ipswich, Septem. 22, 1724.

S^a, — I receiv'd your letter, and am wel satisfied as to the points you writ about.

I desire you would give my hearty respects to my good friends at Portsmouth, and please to let them know that I am deeply concern'd for them.

'Tis the opinion of almost all unprejudiced persons that the circumstances of Portsmouth are such as that they ought to be reliev'd in an extraordinary way, namely, by the translation of a minister to them. But this can't be regularly done according to the constitution of this country without a council of elders and messengers. And the method w^{ch} Dr Mather has directed to is, that the church of Portsmouth should send messengers to the church of Ipswich to make an offer of joyning with them

* Rev. Jabez Fitch was the son of Rev. James Fitch, and was born in Norwich, Conn., in April, 1672. He graduated at Harvard College in 1694, and in October, 1703, was settled in Ipswich, as colleague with Rev. John Rogers. "As he and his people did not agree about a part of what he considered his salary," says Mr. Felt, "he became cool in his attachment to them, and thought of some other place for his labors." An Ecclesiastical Council which convened at Boston, Oct. 29, 1724, decided that it was best for him to leave Ipswich, and, after appointing a committee to confer with the church in that place, adjourned to Nov. 17. The people were unwilling to release him, and it was not until more than a year after he left Ipswich that the financial differences between him and his late charge were settled by arbitration. He continued at Ipswich until Dec. 13, 1724, and some time in the following year was installed at Portsmouth, N. H. He died there Nov. 22, 1746. This letter is without an address, but the internal evidence shows that it was sent to some gentleman in Portsmouth. It may have come into Mr. Belknap's possession at the time of his differences with the church in Dover, or it may have been among the historical documents mentioned by him, in the Preface to the History of New Hampshire, as collected by Mr. Fitch. (See Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. x. p. 50; Felt's History of Ipswich, pp. 236, 237, 347.) — Eds.

in the choice of a council; and if the church of Ipswich refuse to joyn with them, they may then call a council themselves. And D^r. Mather propos'd that the council should meet at Boston. And I think they had far better meet at Boston than anywhere else. There will be no occasion in such a case as this for a publick meeting of the council, but they may meet in a private house to hear what shall be offer'd to their consideration by representatives from the church of Portsmouth, and also from the church of Ipswich, if they see good to send any. Now this affair may be transacted in Boston with far less noise and trouble than anywhere else.

And for my own part I have such a deep concern for Portsmouth, and such a dread of the unhappy consequences of their being disappointed in their present design, that, as I cannot regularly accept their invitation without the advice of a council, so I dare not refuse it unless I am so advis'd by a council. And this is what I shall declare to the church of Ipswich, if the church of Portsmouth sees good to make application to them in order to the calling of a council. And if my circumstances were never so much mended in Ipsw^{ch}, yet if the ministers in a regular council, according to the method of this country, shall determine that the circumstances of Portsmouth are such that 'tis expedient they be reliev'd by the translation of a minister, and will advise to my translation, I shall think myself oblig'd in honour and conscience to accept the kind offer of your people.

The church of Ipsw^{ch} has express'd their lothness to part with me, and has sent a letter to your church (tho' without acquainting me with it). I thank them for the honour they have done me in manifesting their unwillingness to part with me, but 'tis not likely they should allow y^r case a due consideration. And I believe I know the circumstances of Ipsw^{ch} as wel as any man, and if I speak from my heart I must declare I know of

no breach either in church or town that can ensue upon my leaving them.

Having, therefore, advis'd with some of the gravest ministers in the land, as D^r. Mather, Father Wise, Father Payson, &c., they all agree that the case of your people is a case of such importance that it requires a council, w^{ch} I think may be obtain'd without any great trouble.

It may not, perhaps, on some accounts, be expedient for me to come to Portsmouth at present, but I shal be glad to meet with the messengers that were chosen, or, if they cannot conveniently come, any other of your gentlemen, and with them shal concert the measures that are proper to be taken. For I would not delay any longer, but shal now prosecute the matter 'till I see the end of it; imploring the Divine direction and conduct, and hoping to see a good issue of all.

I chuse to meet the messengers at Salisbury, at the Rev^d. M^r. Cushing's, on Monday next. I shall (God willing) be there by the middle of the day. Please to give my humble service to his Hon^r. and the other gentlemen, and take the first opportunity to inform his Hon^r of what I have written.

I am, S^r, y^r affectionate friend and most humble servant,

JABEZ FITCH.

DRAFT OF A LETTER FROM THE CHURCH IN PORTSMOUTH TO THE CHURCH IN IPSWICH.*

To the First Church of Christ in Ipswich, the First Church in Portsmouth sendeth greeting. Grace and peace in our Lord Jesus.

CHRISTIAN FRIENDS, — God in his holy providence having (some time since) taken away our worthy pastor, we doubt not of your Christian sympathy with us under

* This draft is in the handwriting of Rev. Jabez Fitch, and probably came into the possession of Mr. Belknap from the same source as the preceding letter. — EDS.

our bereaved circumstances.* And those of you that are acquainted with the circumstances of our town must needs be sensible of how great consequence it is to the interest of religion, not only in our town, but in all the neighbourhood, that we be settled under the ministry of a suitable person as to age and experience, as well as other qualifications; and Divine Providence having dispos'd our people to a great unanimity in chusing the R^d M^r Fitch to the work of the ministry with us, if his removal from you can be regularly obtain'd; we therefore apply ourselves to you, requesting that you would consider our destitute circumstances, and compare them with your own that are supply'd with two ministers of the Gospel, and if you part with the R^d M^r Fitch to the special service to w^{ch} he is call'd in our town, you will have the very reverend and worthy M^r Rogers with you, under whose conduct a younger person may comfortably & conveniently carry on the work of the Gospel with you.†

We read of a vision appearing to Paul in the night. There stood a man of Macedonia and prayed him, saying, "Come over into Macedonia and help us." And tho' visions are not to be expected in these times, yet being sensible of our need of the lik help that the Macedonians did, we think ourselves in the way of our duty to entreat y^e help of the R^d M^r Fitch in the work of the Gospel. And we hope that you will be brought to a compliance with our desires by a due consideration of that excellent rule, To do as you would be done by. Those that are under necessitous circumstances themselves are apt to think it reasonab[le] that they should be supply'd by others that are capable of doing it. Make but our case

* Rev. Nathanael Rogers, of Portsmouth, died Oct. 3, 1723. He was a son of John Rogers, afterward President of Harvard College, was born at Ipswich, Feb. 22, 1669, and graduated at Harvard College in 1687. — Eds.

† Rev. John Rogers of Ipswich was an older brother of Rev. Nathanael Rogers. He was born July 7, 1666, graduated at Harvard College in 1684, and died Dec. 28, 1745. — Eds.

your own, and you cannot think it hard or unreasonable that we are desirous of one of your ministers. And inasmuch as we are required to do good unto all men, especially unto them that are of the household of faith, w^{ch} precept respects the spirituall as well as temporal good of such, we pray you to consider whether you are not obliged in this way to be willing to promote the spirituall good of a sister church by consenting that the R^d M^r Fitch should engage in the work of the ministry with us.

So comending you to God and the word of His grace, we remain

Y^r sincere friends in the fellowship of y^e Gospel.

Let some subscribe in the name of the rest of the members of the church.

CERTIFICATE OF SAMUEL LANGDON AND OTHERS.*

PORTSM^o, N. HAMPSHIRE, March 12th, 1766.

THIS may certify all persons whom it may concern that we, the subscribers, having examined M^r Jeremiah Belknap, Jun^r, who has offered himself to engage in the work of the sacred ministry for the service of the church if he should be found qualified, are fully satisfied that he is well furnished with natural & acquired accomplishments for this important employment; that he appears in particular to have a good degree of knowlege of the Holy Scriptures; & to be governed by a sincere aim to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in under-

* Rev. Samuel Langdon, D.D., then of Portsmouth, and afterward President of Harvard College, was the colleague and successor of Rev. Jabez Fitch. He was born Jan. 12, 1723, graduated at Harvard College in 1740, and died Nov. 29, 1797. Rev. Benjamin Stevens, D.D., of Kittery, Me., was the maternal grandfather of Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster. He was born May 4, 1721, was a classmate of Rev. Samuel Langdon, and died May 18, 1791. Rev. Samuel Haven, D.D., of the South Parish, Portsmouth, N. H., was born in Framingham, Mass., Aug. 4, 1727, graduated at Harvard College in 1749, and died March 3, 1806. Rev. Samuel Macclintock, D.D., of Greenland, N. H., was born in Medford, Mass., May 1, 1732, graduated at Princeton, N. J., in 1751, and died April 27, 1804. — Eds.

taking to preach the Gospel; & therefore we do hereby heartily recommend him to ministers & churches as a candidate for the ministry, who deserves encouragement & is likely to promote the everlasting welfare of the souls of men. And we wish him much of the Divine presence & assistance in that great work upon which he is entering, trusting that Providence will open a door for his usefulness in some particular church, where he may make full proof of his ministry & be a rich blessing for many years to come.

SAM^L LANGDON.

BENJ^N STEVENS.

SAM^L HAVEN.

SAM^L MACCLINTOCK.

ELEAZAR WHELOCK TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

To Mr. Jeremiah Belknap, at Greenland.

AT M^R. MACCLINTOCK'S, IN GREENLAND, May 31, 1766.

MY DEAR SIR,—From several hints I have had of your character I have been determined to seek an opportunity of some acquaintance with you, in hopes you would be inclined to accept a mission among the 6 Nations the ensuing summer. A wide door seems to be opening, for one who has a heart full of love to the great Redeemer, for great usefulness. And besides the proper business of your mission, you will likely have the inspection and conduct of a school (or perhaps several schools) at the same place.

I am sorry I miss the opportunity of an interview with you here, but however, as you will likely chuse the

* Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, D.D., first President of Dartmouth College, was born in Windham, Conn., April 22, 1711, graduated at Yale College in 1733, and was ordained as minister of the Second Society in Lebanon, Conn., in 1735. Here he established the school for the education of Indian youths, known as Moor's Indian Charity School. After the grant of a charter to Dartmouth College, he removed, in 1770, to Hanover, N. H., where he died, April 24, 1779. — EDS.

advice & concurrence of your parents in an affair of such importance, perhaps it will be as well, if you are inclin'd to undertake in the business, to meet me at Boston, next Tuesday evening, at Mr Moses Peck's, watchmaker, where I have some small hope of seeing Mr Kirkland with the chief warrior of the Seneca tribe, by whom you may get a more full account of Indians & Indian affairs than you can have from any other man in New England. I pray God to direct your way for you, and make you an instrument of much glory to His name and good to the souls of men wherever He may in His providence dispose of you.

I am, dear Sir, with sincere respect, your unknown friend and humble serv^t,

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

PETER THACHER TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

To the Rev^d Mr Jeremiah Belknap, in Greenland, Piscataqua.

CAMBRIDGE, May 22^d, 1766.

RESPECTED AND DEAR SIR,—With the greatest pleasure I received your letter of the 19th [*illegible*], for which condescension I am exceedingly obliged to you. It, i. e. your letter, puts me in mind of the times when that friendship commenc'd which has done me so much honour and made so many hours of my life agreeable. Do you not remember when you kept school at Milton how openly and unreservedly you treated me,—how you admitted me to your confidence altho' I was a child? That treatment won my soul, and as it is my nature to use freedom with those I think my friends, I have used you

* Rev. Peter Thacher, D.D., one of the original members of the Historical Society, was the son of Oxenbridge Thacher, and was born in Milton, Mass., March 21, 1752. He graduated at Harvard College in 1769, and in September of the following year he was ordained minister of the church in Malden. In January, 1785, he became minister of the Brattle Street Church, Boston. He died Dec. 16, 1802. A memoir of him, by Rev. John Eliot, D.D., is in Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. viii., pp. 277-284.—EDS.

with so much of it as I am afraid has been disagreeable to you, but I hope from your wonted goodness you will pardon it. I am afraid I never shall spend my time so agreeably again; but to leave such melancholy thoughts and proceed to something more agreeable. As to my present estate, I spend my time very agreeably, & being sensible of the worth of the present time endeavour to improve it to the most advantage and to study diligently.

I hear you have began to preach. I sincerely pray God to make you a great and extensive blessing in your day and generation, and that you may be the means of bringing home many souls unto the faith and fellowship of the Gospel.

I sincerely thank you for your good advice & wishes to and for me, and should take it as a great favour if you would write to me soon if you have time. Excuse the freedom I take in this letter, & believe me to be, d^r Sir,

Y^r affectionate friend and very humble servant,

PETER THACHER.

I have seen neither of Hill's brothers yet, so have not had opportunity to deliver your message.

Excuse blunders, for I am a blunderer.

June 3^d, 1766. I have not had an opportunity to send the above since the date of it, but still remain to be,

Your *ut supra*,

P. THACHER.

VOTE OF THE CHURCH IN DOVER.

Tuesday, November 25, 1766. At a meeting of the Church of Christ in Dover, regularly called, and for some special reasons adjourned till Tuesday, December 2^d, following, and then meet according to adjournment in order to chuse and apply to some suitable person to settle in the Gospel ministry as pastor of this church, colleague with the Reverend M^r Jonathan Cushing, it was unani-

mously voted that M^r Jeremy Belknap be chosen and applied to to settle as aforesaid, and that Deacon Shadrack Hodgdon, Deacon Daniel Ham, and Cap^t Stephen Evens be a committee to wate on M^r Belknap and inform him of the aforesaid vote and choice of this church, and also to notify the selectmen of this parish of the aforesaid vote and choise, desiering them to call a meeting of the parishioners to see if they will concur with the aforesaide vote and settlement.

Attest, JON^A CUSHING, *Pastor.*

VOTES OF THE DOVER PARISH.*

AT a meeting of the parishioners of the First Parish in Dover, held at their meeting-house on Monday y^e 15th day of Dec^r, 1766.

Voted, 1st. Otis Baker, Esq^r, Moderator.

2^{dly}. Unanimously Voted, that the Parish concur with the vote of the Church of said Parish, & that M^r Jeremiah Belknap is hereby unanimously called to settle in the Gospel ministry as a pastor of said parish & colleague with the Rev^d M^r Jonathan Cushing.

3^{dly}. Unanimously Voted, that said Parish pay M^r Jeremiah Belknap one hundred pounds lawful money yearly or every year as a sallery from the time of his accepting said call during the time he shall continue our minister & in full therefor.

4^{ly}. Unanimously Voted, that the Parish give M^r Belknap one hundred & fifty pounds lawful money & to be paid at the following periods, viz^t, fifty pounds in three months, & fifty pounds in six months, & fifty pounds in nine months next after his ordination, to be raised by the

* The three documents which follow are written on a single sheet of paper. The signatures to the Committee's letter are autographs, -- the letter itself being in the handwriting of the parish clerk, whose attestation is appended to the other two documents. — Eds.

selectmen of s^d Parish for the time being, which is to provide himself a convenient house to dwell in during his ministry amongst us ; or instead of said one hundred & fifty pounds, that the Parish shall provide him a convenient house, barn, & garden during said term, & that is left to his determination & choice to accept the said one hundred & fifty pounds, or the house, barn, garden, &c.

5^{ly}. Voted, that the same committee that last was employ^d to treat with M^r Belknap, viz^t, Otis Baker, Esq., Cap^t Shadrach Hodgdon, Cap^t Stephen Evens, L^t Joshua Wingate, Major John Titcomb, Cap^t Dudley Watson, & M^r Nehemiah Kimbal, with Deacon Daniel Ham added thereto, be the committee to apply to M^r Belknap now & inform him of the votes of said Parish & receive his answer thereto, & report to the Parish as soon as may be.

Then the meeting was adjourn^d to Monday, y^e 12th day of Jan^y next, at 1 o'clock afternoon.

A true copy.

Attest, EPH^m HANSON, *Parish Cler.*

WE, the subscribers, being appointed a committee as aforesaid, do now, according to the trust reposed in us present you with a copy of y^e votes of y^e said Parish, & desire you to take y^e same under your consideration & enable us to make report at the adjourn^{mt}, as we are directed.

DOVER, Dec^r 18, 1766.

OTIS BAKER,	} <i>Committee of the Parish.</i>
SHADRACH HODGSDON,	
DANIEL HAM,	
NEHEMIAH KIMBAL,	
STEP ⁿ EVENS,	
JOHN TITCOMB,	
JOSHUA WINGATE,	
DUDLEY WATSON,	

To M^r Jeremy Belknap.

AT a meeting of the parishioners of the First Parish in Dover, held at their meeting house by adjournm^t y^e 19th day of January, 1767.

The meeting being opened, the aforesaid committee chosen to treat with M^r Belknap made their report, & bro^t M^r Belknap's answer of his accepting the call & sallery voted to him by said Parish, & the vote of his settlement upon the following conditions, viz^t, that two payments be paid him every year, viz^t, one half at the end of every six months from the date of his accepting the call, & that as he has been offer^d the choice of an house, barn, garden, &c, or one hundred & fifty pounds in lieu thereof, he accepts the said one hundred & fifty pounds, to be paid in the manner proposed; & the parishioners then at said meeting voted to accept the answer of said M^r Belknap, & that he be paid his settlement & sallery accordingly.

A true copy from Dover First Parish Book of Records.

Attest,

EPH^m HANSON, *P. Cler.*

LETTER TO THE FIRST PARISH IN DOVER.*

To the Parishioners of the First Parish in Dover.

YOUR late call and proposals to me made I have taken into serious consideration, and as from various concurring circumstances the joint invitation of the Chh. & Parish here seems to be the voice of Divine Providence, I think it my duty with all humility to accept it, looking to y^e great Head of the Chh. for grace & strength to fulfil the duty of a Gospel minister.

Concerning the proposals of settlement, — tho' I had no objection to make to them, yet I did not think myself

* The copy of this letter from which we print is in the handwriting of Mr. Belknap; and the attestation, except the words, "A true copy," is in that of Mr. Hanson. — Eds.

qualified to judge whether they were sufficient for my comfortable subsistence in life, if it should please God that I should have a family, and therefore I tho't it adviseable to consult with some of my friends who were judges. Their opinion is, that, since I am to have no parsonage land, there ought to be added to my annual salary as many cords of wood as will be necessary for the use & convenience of a family during the year. But seeing you have your aged & venerable pastor to care for in y^e decline of life, I shall wave that matter, — not without hope that, should I live to see some of your present expences terminate, you will make some provision of that kind for me, if you shall judge it necessary.

The salary of £100 per ann. I accept, on condition that two payments be made every year, viz., one half at the end of every six months from the date hereof. And as you have offered me the choice of an house, &c., or £150 in lieu thereof, I accept y^e said £150, to be paid in y^e manner proposed.

Having now devoted myself to y^e service of God in the Gospel of his Son, & (as I trust) agreable to y^e Divine Will taken on me the care of your souls, sensible of my own insufficiency to discharge this duty in a right manner, I must ask your earnest prayers for me that I may obtain mercy of the Lord to be faithful, and that my labours may be rewarded with abundant success. So shall your souls be my joy & crown of rejoicing at the second coming of Jesus Christ.

JEREMY BELKNAP.

DOVER, January 19, 1767.

A true copy of M^r Jeremiah Belknap's answer to the call of the parishioners of the First Parish in Dover, as is recorded in the s^d Parish Records.

Attest,

EPH^m HANSON, *Parish Cler.*

LETTER TO THE CHURCH IN DOVER.

To the Brethren of the Church of Christ in Dover.

I HAVE taken into serious consideration your late unanimous call of me to be your pastor in conjunction with the Reverend Mr Cushing; and as it appears to be the voice of Divine Providence, I think it my duty to accept it.

Sensible of my own insufficiency to discharge this great duty in a right manner, I ask your earnest prayers to God for me, that He would by His Spirit assist & strengthen me to fulfil my ministry.

Your affectionate brother & servant in the Gospel of Christ,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

January 26, 1767.

VOTES OF THE CHURCH IN DOVER.

AT a meeting of the brethren of y^e Church in Dover, January 26, 1767.

Mr Belknap's answer to the Church's call was read.

Whereupon the following votes were past : —

1. That Wednesday, the 18 of February next, be the day for his solemn ordination.

2. That 22 churches be desired to assist in said ordination, viz. : Dr. Sewall's, Dr. Byles's, & Mr. Eliot's Churches in *Boston*; the Church in *Milton*; the First & Second Churches in *Portsmouth*; the 2 Churches in *Berwick*; the 2 Churches in *York*; the 3 Chhs. in *Kittery*; the 2 Chhs. in *Wells*; the Chhs. in *Somersworth*, *Rochester*, *Lebanon*, *Barrington*, *Newington*, *Durham*, and *Greenland*.

3. That Deacon Hodgsdon, Deacon Ham, & Esq. Baker be a committee to sign the letters missive in y^e behalf of the Church.

4. That Cap^t Evens be desired to send the letters, & that the Church pay him for his trouble & expence.

5. That Cap^t Evens, Esq. Baker, & M^r Ichabod Hayes be a comittee to join with y^e comittee which the Parish may chuse to make provision for the entertainment of the elders and delegates on the ordination day.

JON^A CUSHING, *Pastor.*

THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH IN BOSTON TO THE CHURCH
IN DOVER.*

To the Rev^d M^r Jonathan Cushing in Dover, to be cõmunicated.

REV^D & BELOVED, — Grace & peace be multiplied to you from God y^e Father & our Ld Jesus Christ.

Whereas, M^r Jeremiah Belknap, Jun^r, was some time past admitted to full cõmunion wth us, & has desir'd a dismission to you, these are to certify y^t we, y^e subscribers, wth consent of our brethren of y^e South Chh. in Boston, dismiss & recõmend him to your watch & fellowship. And whereas we are inform'd y^t you have chosen him to y^e pastoral office as colleague wth y^e Rev^d M^r Cushing, we pray God y^t in their united ministry you may obtain y^e fulness of y^e blessing of y^e Gospel of Christ. And asking your prayers for us & y^e flock under our pastoral care, we are your brethren in y^e faith & fellowship of y^e Gospel.

JOSEPH SEWALL,

SAM^L BLAIR,

Pastors of y^e South Chh. in Boston.

BOSTON, Febr. 9, 1767.

P. S. Your letter was read to y^e Chh., & tho' y^e pastors cant attend y^e service, yet y^y have sent some of our brⁿ

* The original is in the handwriting of the Rev. Dr. Sewall. — Eps.

to attend y^e import^t affair of y^e ordinatⁿ, & desire y^t y^e glorious Head of y^e Chh. would be present wth you in y^t solemnity.

To the Chh. of Christ in Dover.

VOTES OF THE CHURCH IN DOVER.

At a meeting of the brethren of the Chh. of Christ in Dover, Feb^r 16, 1767.

On receiving and reading a letter from the pastors of the South Chh. in Boston, containing a dismissal & recommendation of M^r Jeremy Belknap from their communion to ours, —

1. Voted, that M^r Belknap be accordingly received into communion with this Church.

2. Voted, that Deacⁿ Hodgson, Deacⁿ Ham, & Cap^t Evens be a comittee to represent the Chh. before the Council on the approach^g day of ordination.

JON^A CUSHING, *Pastor.*

COUNCIL MINUTES.

DOVER, Feb^r 18, 1767.

A COUNCIL of 20 churches convened at Dover at the request of the church under the pastoral care of the Rev^d M^r Jonathan Cushing, in order to the ordination of M^r Jeremy Belknap to the office of a co-pastor with their aged pastor afores^d; the churches present being all which were voted & sent to by the church except R^d D^r Byles's & Rev^d M^r Elliot's at Boston.

Voted, that the Rev^d M^r Cushing be Moderator & D^r Langdon the Scribe of the Council.

The Council then proceeded, after humble supplications to the glorious Head of the Church, to enquire into the

votes of the Church & Parish relating to M^r Belknap's call, & full satisfaction being given to the Council as to the call, & likewise as to M^r Belknap's qualifications for the work of the ministry & readiness of mind in consecrating himself to the service of God in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, it was voted, —

That this Council will proceed to the ordination of M^r Jeremy Belknap to the work of the ministry in this place, & the office of a pastor of the church here, as a colleague with the Rev^d M^r Jonathan Cushing.

Accordingly, the Council, having assigned the several parts of the solemnity to proper persons among the elders present, went into the meeting-house, & before a very numerous assembly carried on the ordination. The Rev^d M^r Robbins of Milton opened the solemnity with prayer. The Rev^d M^r Haven preached a sermon well adapted to the occasion from I Timo. 4. 15. The Rev^d M^r Cushing then prayed & gave the charge, with the imposition of the hands of all the elders in the pulpit. The Rev^d M^r Pike gave the right hand of fellowship, and D^r Langdon concluded with prayer. Thus we hope God has given the church in this place a pastor after his own heart, to feed them with knowlege & understanding.

JON^A CUSHING, *Moderator*.

Original Minutes.

Attest^r, SAM^L LANGDON, *Scribe*.

CONFESSION OF FAITH, FEB^RY 10, 1767.*

I BELIEVE y^t there is one infinite, eternal, incomprehensible God, who is a Being of y^e most perfect wisd^o, pow^r,

* This is Mr. Belknap's own heading, and shows the date at which the Confession was drawn up. From his indorsement, it appears to have been communicated to the Council convened for his ordination at Dover in the following week. The original manuscript covers between eight and nine pages, and has numerous erasures and interlineations. The abbreviations need no explanation. — Eds.

holiness, justice, goodness, & truth, the Creator, Preserver, & Governor of all things visible and invisible, and y^t these truths are discoverable by y^e light of nature.

I believe y^t y^e Scrip of O. & N. Test. contain a full divine revelã of truth & duty to men, and from these sacred & infalible oracles I have learned the follow^g doctrines, w^h are y^e articles of my faith.

1. That y^e Scrip accõ of y^e nature, perfecⁿ, & provd^{co} of G. is agreeable to what y^e light of nature teaches concern^g y^m.

2. That there are 3 w^h bear record in heaven, y^e Fath^r, y^e Word, & y^e H. G., & y^t these 3 are one in being, perfecⁿ, & glory.

3. That G. as the moral Gov^r of ☉ has given to all his ratio^l creat^s a law written on their hearts, w^h law, being founded in eternal truth & righteousness, is an invariable rule of duty to all mankind.

4. That mank'd were created at first inocent & upright, but they are now in a fallen ruined state.

5. That by one man sin entred into ☉, & y^e wages of sin is death, and y^t all mankind were so included in & represented by y^e first man y^t on acco^t of his disobedience they are subject to y^e same punishm^t w^h was threatened to him.

6. That by personal obedience to y^e law no flesh living can be justified, & unless y^e law be perfectly fulfilled, & complete satisfacⁿ be made to divine justice, no man can be saved, & therefore y^e whole ☉ is guilty & condemned.

7. That y^e mediatorial scheme of redemption is y^e effect of God's sov^{gn} free grace. That a certain determinate numb^r of y^e sons of men were by y^e sov^{gn} free grace of God before y^e foundⁿ of ☉ predestinated to y^e adoṽ of childⁿ & chosen by G. unto salvã thro' sanctificã of y^e Sp. & belief of y^e truth.

8. That because of y^e infinite evils of sin it was nec^y y^t y^e divine & human natures should be united in one

person to constitute a proper mediator between God & man.

9. That Jesus X is y^e Son of G. & y^e Son of Man by a mysterious conjunction of y^e divine & human natures in his person, & therefore he is the only mediator between G. & man.

10. That Jesus X is y^e true Messiah, or y^e anointed Prophet, Priest, & King, who was prophesied of & promised in y^e O. Test. to be y^e Sav^r & Redeemer of his people.

11. That in y^e fulness of time G. sent his Son into ☉, y^t he lived a holy, sinless life, pr^d many excellent doct^s, wro't many convinc^g miracles, gath^d a small company of disciples who were witnesses of y^e great things he did & suffered, & was crucified on M^o Calvary by y^e Jews. But tho' they were permitted to *kill y^e Prince of Life*, yet his death was y^e voluntary act of his own mind, so y^t he offered up himself as a vicarious, expiatory sacrifice for sin.

12. That G. has accepted this great sacrifice as satisfactory to his justice & has given asurance thereof to all men by rais^g his Son from y^e dead and exalt^g him to his right hand in y^e heavens, where he lives forever to make intercessⁿ for his pp^{le}.

13. That J., by his active & passive obed^{ce} has bro't in an *everlast^g R'g'ss* whⁱ is y^e only & imediate ground or matter of a sinner's justificã.

14. That all those who were given to X by G. y^e Fath^r as y^e reward of his humiliã & suff^g are justified by y^e impütã of his perfect r'g'ss to y^m when thro' y^e agency of y^e divine Sp. they are bro't to believe in y^e name of y^e only begotten Son of G.

15. That y^e H. G. is a divine agent, whose office it is effectually to apply y^e r'd'mp. purchased by X to those who were chosen in him before y^e foundⁿ of ☉ by enlight^g their understand^g, subduing their wills, enabl^g y^m to believe in X, & y^t y^e same Sp. continues in y^m, weakn^g

their corruptions, strengthening their graces, comforting their souls, witness^g their adop^t & seal^g y^m to y^e day of redemption.

16. *That* faith w^h y^e Scrip^t requires in order to justificā is distinct from a bare speculative knol^g of y^e doct^s of y^e Gosp^l, & y^e way to disting^{sh} it from a false or dead faith is by its fruits & operā.

17. That y^e genuine & inseparable fruits of true faith are humble confidence in y^e righteousness of X alone for justificā, sincere love to God & his Son, godly sorrow & repent^{ce} for sin, & purposes of new & universal obed^{ce}.

18. That those who have believed in God ought to be careful to maintain good works, or to live soberly, righteously, & godly in ☉, — not that these good works have in y^mselves any *merit*, but only as they are performed by grace & strength de[r]ived from X, & in obed^{ce} to his Gosp^l, they will be graciously rewarded at the Great Day.

19. That the Scrip^t speaks of 2 kinds of justificā w^h differ in respect to y^e *author*, y^e *subj.*, y^e *ground*, & y^e *time* of justificā. Of y^e one y^e *author* is God y^e Father, y^e subj^s are *ungodly sinners*, y^e ground is y^e redemption in X, & y^e time is when they believe in Jesus. Of y^e other, X as *mediatorial K^g* is y^e author, *persever^g saints* are y^e subj^s, sincere obed^{ce} is y^e ground, & y^e Day of Gen^l Judgm^t is y^e time. So y^t 'tis no contradiction when it is said in Scrip^t that we are justified freely by y^e grace of G., & y^t every man shall be rewarded acord^g to his works.

20. That all persons of whatever age or nation who sincerely believe, love, & obey y^e Gospel of Jesus X do compose one spiritual, invisible Church or mystical body, of w^h J is the only supreme Head.

21. That all who make a credible professⁿ of faith & repentance are to be accounted members of y^e Christian Church & have a visible right to all its external ordinances & privileges.

22. That X has appointed baptism & the Lord's sup-

per to be stand^s ordinances in his Church till his second coming.

23. That y^e infant children of all who are visible members of y^e C^{hh} of X may be baptized with water *in y^e name of y^e Father, Son, & Holy Ghost.*

24. That those who have been baptized in their infancy & at adult age renew their baptismal covenant, together with those who are *baptized* at adult age on a credible profession of faith & repentance, are immediately added as members to y^e visible Church of X, & it is their *duty* to continue steadfast in y^e Xan doct^r & fellowship & in *break^g of bread*, without y^e necessity of any 2^d profesion.

25. That the ministers of J have no scriptural right to exercise lordship or dominion over each other or over their fellow Xns, but that they are all brethren, & one is their Master, even Christ.

26. That X has instituted a holy discipline & gov^t in his C^{hh} to be exercised by y^e pastors with y^e consent of y^e brethren, & y^t y^e N. Tes^t is y^e only authentic & infallible platform of c^{hh} gov^t & discipline.

27. That tho' hypocrites are now mingled with true believers in y^e visible C^{hh}, yet there will be a time when they shall be separated, & y^e C^{hh} presented by X a glorious C^{hh} not hav^g spot or wrinkle or any such thing.

28. That y^e hour is coming wherein all y^t are in their graves shall hear y^e voice of y^e Son of G. & shall come forth, — they that have done good unto y^e r'^x. of life, & they y^t have done evil to y^e r'^x. of damnⁿ.

29. That G. has apointed a day in w^h he will judge ☉ in r'g'ss. by y^t man whom he has ordained, even y^e L. J., who in the character of mediatorial King will asign to every man his respective portion of hapiness or misery, & then will deliver up the mediatorial kgm. to y^e Fath^r, y^t God may be all in all.

30. That y^e wicked shall go away into everlast^s punishm^t, but y^e rgs. into L. eter.

CONCERN^a MY VIEWS & AIMS, &c.

It has been my constant habitual tho't, ever since I was capable of judging, that I should preach y^e Gosp^l; with this view my parents educated me, & to this my friends have often urged & persuaded me. But for a long time all these things were in vain. I knew myself to be destitute of y^e grand fundamental qualific^a of a true minister of y^e Gosp^l, & was determined never to undertake preaching untill I had obtained *a hope in X*. A glorious discov^y of y^e riches & freeness of divine grace, & y^e infinite worthiness of the L. J. X., w^h I trust was made to my soul by the Holy Spirit, at once changed my views & dispositions, & from y^t time I devoted myself to y^e service of G. in y^e Gosp^l of his Son, think^s it my duty to glorify G. in this way. My qualificⁿ have been judged of by others. My conscience acquits me of hav^s any mercenary views; a decent, comfortable subsistence while I continue in this vale of tears is all y^e present reward that I desire.

I know y^t G. has no need of any of my services; but if it shall please him to make me a humble, zealous, faithful instrum^t of build^s up y^e Redemer's Kingd^o & turn^s siners from the errors of their ways, I shall esteem it y^e greatest dignity & hap^{ss} y^t I am capable of receiving.

Indorsed by Mr. Belknap: "Confesⁿ of Faith exhibited Feb^y 18, 1767."

LETTER TO CHARLES CHAUNCY AND OTHERS.*

LONDON, 11 April, 1768.

GENTⁿ,—Y^r favor of 4 Jan'y last came safe to hand, 26 Feb., & we, being willing to pay all y^e regard w^h a

* This letter is printed from a copy in the handwriting of Mr. Belknap, and is indorsed by him, "Lett^r fr^o Dissenters in London to Ministers in Massachus^{ts}," The clergy of the

letter fr^o so respectable a body of gentⁿ & y^e importance of y^e subj. req^d, laid it before y^e 1st gen^l meet^s of y^e deputies for managing y^e affairs of y^e Dissenters, w^h was held 9th Mar., & it was y^t day referr'd to us, y^e Co^mittee of Correspond^e to take care thereof, & to endeavor to get all y^e intellig^{ce} relat^s to y^e affair we could, & transmit it to you.

We are, gentⁿ, very sensible of y^e many civil & relig^s inconveniences y^t would arise fr^o y^e introducⁿ of Diocesⁿ Bps. into America, & therefore beg leave to assure you of our utmost vigil^t attentⁿ & assid^s endeav^{rs} to oppose & frustrate any such design. At y^e same time we have y^e pleas^{re} of inform^s you y^t we have made y^e strictest enq^y & are able fr^o y^e very best auth^y to assure you y^t there is no such design on f: at pres^t, & we hope y^t y^e gov^t are so sensible of y^e confusⁿ such a step would occasⁿ among our Amer^{en} brethⁿ y^t however warmly some of our Bps. may wish for it & express such their desires in their serm^o on pub. occas^{ns} we really believe they will never be able to accomp^{sh} y^m. However, gentⁿ, as you & we are engaged in one comon cause, you may depend upon it, y^t if any attempts are made to revive this design we shall

Church of England, on this side of the Atlantic, had long been anxious that a Bishop or Bishops should be sent to America, so that candidates for the ministry should not be "obliged to submit to the danger and expence of a voyage of 1,000 leagues long," in order to obtain episcopal ordination. In a letter dated Boston, June 17, 1767, and signed by Rev. William Walter, D.D., at that time Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and thirteen others, the writers say: "Since the first settlement of Christianity, so large a continent as this was never known without a resident Bishop. We flattered ourselves that such an extensive territory as was heretofore possessed & hath since been added to the British Dominions by the last war would certainly have been followed by some provision of this kind, but especially the late popular tumults in these Colonies we imagined would have strongly pointed out the necessity of such a step towards the uniting and attaching the Colonies to the mother country, and have silenced every objection that could be raised against it. We are too remote and inconsiderable to approach the Throne, yet could His Majesty hear the voice of so distant a people the request for American Bishops would appear to be the crye of many thousands of his most faithful subjects. We do, however, think ourselves happy in this, that the Society will omit no favorable opportunity of representing the advantages that may accrue to these Colonies, to religion, and to the British interest by condescending to this our request." (See Perry's *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church*, vol. iii. p. 531.) — Eds.

carefully watch & exert our utmost endeav^{rs} to prevent y^e carrying it into execuⁿ.

We are wth very great regard, gentⁿ, y^r most obed^t hum. serv^s.

JASPER MAUDUIT.
THO^s LUCAS.
J^{no} BOYLE FRENCH.
W^m BOWDEN.
RICH^d COOKE.
ROBT. LEWIS.

To Rev^d Mess^{rs} Chauncy, Pemberton, Eliot, & Cooper, in Boston.

PETER THACHER TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

MILTON, April 20th, 1768.

DEAR SIR,—I this morning received your very welcome epistle, and permit me in answer thereto sincerely to congratulate you & your dear lady on her safe delivery.* May the God of mercy perfect his begun goodness unto her, bless & prosper the tender babe. May it live & be a great blessing to its parents. Very sensible I am, rev^d sir, (permit me to say, from experience,) that the votaries of God & of virtue alone enjoy true happiness. Now, sir, if you please, I will give you an account of the late disturbances & commotions in our *Alma Mater*.†

But before I begin the unwelcome tale, let me tell you that, in all this rebellion (as it is called), I myself have had no part; to this I doubt not you will give entire credit, as my tutors, the governors of the College, & my

* Mr. Belknap's eldest child, Sarah, was born April 7, 1768, and was baptized three days afterward by Rev. Mr. Cushing. — EDS.

† The President of the College at this time was Rev. Edward Holyoke, then in his seventy-ninth year. For a brief notice of these disturbances and an account of the subsequent proceedings of the Corporation, the Overseers, and the President, see Quincy's History of Harvard University, vol. ii. pp. 116-119, and The Harvard Book, vol. ii. p. 125. — EDS.

freinds in Boston are entirely satisfied with my conduct. The tutors on Monday morning told the scholars that they had entered into an agreement to excuse no scholars from reciting, unless they should first ask leave of them therefor. This the scholars esteemed a great greivance, & made objections to their tutors; yet they overruled them all, & punished some that were absent. Upon the scholars going out from their respective tutors' chambers, they hiss'd & clap'd, &c., & in the evening M^r Danforth's windows were broke by some persons unknown. The tutors prosecuted the affair the next day, & in y^e evening M^r Willard's & M^r Scales' windows were broke; on Wednesday in y^e afternoon some persons unknown broke into M^r Willard's chamber, destro[y]ed his glass, his teacups, &c.; on Thursday in the forenoon the President, professors, & tutors met in order to discover something of a class meeting w^h the several classes had had in order to consult upon the affair, but discovered nothing. On Friday they met again, and met with the same success. On Saturday evening there was a report in College that M^r Willard had shut up one Whiting in his study without fire or victuals from 8 o'clock A. M. till 3 P. M., in order to make him confess something in relation to the breaking of his glass; but here you should observe that y^s Whit^s had been detected in fastening y^e chapel door, when M^r Willard was there with his class reciting. This story had a natural tendency to enrage the minds of the scholars, & y^e same evening as 2 of the tutors were in M^r Willard's chamber setting with him, when, behold! with a mighty noise came bursting thro' the window 4 brickbats. They immediately issued out of the chamber & caught one of the culprits, Putnam of Danvers, who discovered his confederates, Stebbins of Hadley, Hill of Saco, & Dodge of Salem. On Sabbath day there were several letters, &c., put up at M^r Willard's door threatening him, telling him to leave the society, &c.; in y^e evening the

President, professors, &c. met, ordered y^e persons who had been detected breaking M^r W.'s windows into prayers the next morning. They sent up for Whiting, but some of the scholars returned answer that he should not come, &c.; but at length a number of the [sc]holars went down to the place where the President, &c. were convened, & told y^m if y^r w^d admit some scholars with him he might come before them; the reason they alledged for w^c was that he w^d otherwise be daunted & confess w^t was not true; y^r they refused to suffer. In y^e night there were great disorders; the gaurd of y^e town assembling prevented any attack upon y^e President or any other of y^e governors of y^e College. In y^e morning the scholars went down to y^e President's & desired him to suspend executing any punishment upon the delinquents at present, as they had some proof w^c they imagined w^d in a great measure palliate, if not entirely exterminate their guilt. Y^s request the President with his usual haughtiness denied. The sentence was executed, & after breakfast 104 or 5 of the scholars went down & gave up their chambers, all y^e 3 junior classes except 40. On Sabbath day evening I betook myself to Boston, as I foresaw if I stayed at Cambridge I should be compelled to resign my chamber, which I was very unwilling to do, as I was sensible it would be attended with very bad consequences. I forgot before to tell you that the Senior Class had no hand in this affair, as they were not obliged to conform to the regulation. Thus much journalwise, as for writing a *terræ filius* I have no inclination for it at present. I don't know what I may do when I return to college. At present I am engaged in keeping school at Milton for the schoolmaster, who has been absent y^s 2 or 3 days. So, Sir, I am at least a *pro tempore* successor to yourself in y^t agreeable employment. As for the health of my grandfather, &c., he is very well, & has been so all winter, but my grandmother has been poorly almost all winter, but has now grown

much better & seems to be upon the recovery very fast. The scholars had such very probable circumstances relating to y^e charge agst Mr Willard, y^t it will very much tend to lessen their fault (if their conduct be faulty). I should be glad if you would communicate y^e account I have given you to M^r Merriam & my sister, as I cannot without much time write them another journal. Be pleased to present my sincere love & respect to your amiable & beloved consort, my compliments, &c., to Miss Sally. You ask me when I shall come to Dover? Indeed I can't tell, but I intend to try hard to get there next summer vacancy. What more shall I say? Indeed I can't tell you; for sh^d I say I continue the same love (& permit me to say reverence) for you w^h I always had, you would accuse me of impertinence in telling you the same thing so many times over. However, I will subscribe myself,

Y^r sincere & affectionate freind,

PETER THACHER.

April 25th, 1768. You will excuse the dirtiness of my paper, for I carried it in my pocket from the time I began it till now, to school & back again, to get opportunity to write it.

Y^{rs} *ut supra*,

P. THACHER.

The Reverend M^r Belknap.

PETER THACHER TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

To the Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, in Dover.

CAMBRIDGE, Feby 25th, 1769

REV. & DEAR SIR, — The length of the time since you wrote to me has almost led me to think you have forgot

* In the Belknap Papers is an incomplete short-hand draft of the answer to this letter. The portion which has been preserved was deciphered, and is printed in the Life of Dr. Belknap by his granddaughter, pp. 37-42. — Eds.

me, & if that is the case I know not whether it will be a pleasure to you to receive a letter from me at this time ; but as it always gave me the greatest pleasure to reflect upon the instances of regard you had shown me, & as I was loth to think you had entirely forgotten me, I determined to take up my pen & write to you as to a freind & father.

I have thro' the goodness of God enjoyed a pretty good measure of health since you last heard from me, and have been engaged the summer & winter (hitherto) past cheifly in the mathematicks & divinity, for I have determined to preach. I would beg, d^r Sir, your advice & assistance herein to direct me what books are most proper for me to read. I have hitherto been directed in my divinity studies by M^r Wigglesworth, our Divinity Professor.

I contemplate the ministerial office with a mixture of diffidence & pleasure ; diffidence, as I esteem it a work of the greatest importance ; pleasure, as it is & must be the greatest satisfaction to a mind sensible of the importance of y^e soul's concerns (as I would hope thro' y^e goodness of God I am in some measure at least) to guide & direct men to heaven, to rouse y^e sleepy & secure sinner, to build up & edify the true saint. In this work, my friend, you are engaged ; in this work I pray God to give you success.

The Sabbath day before last, I was, tho' most unworthy, admitted into M^r Robbins' church at Milton, & took upon me the obligations of God's solemn covenant. I would earnestly beg, d^r Sir, your prayers for me, that I may be enabled to adorn the doctrine of God, my Saviour, in all things, that I may walk worthy the vocation wherewith I trust I am called, that I may be fitted & prepared by the service of God here for the full, free, & entire enjoyment of him in the heavenly world.

You know not, my freind, how different things of this

nature appear to me now from what they once did. I trust I have reason to think that the change which has been wrought in me is of a saving nature. Ascribe glory to your God & to my God, thro' Jesus Christ, for this his free, unmerited goodness to one of the most sinful of his creatures.

I am in hopes I shall be able to stay at college after I have taken my degree (should I live), & follow my studies here; should I make out, it will be a great advantage to me.

I remember your amiable wife with great pleasure, with a sincere regard; you will be so good as to present my sincere love to her, & ask her, if her nursery will spare her long enough, by a line to let me know she remembers Peter.

I would beg of you, Sir, when you can spare time, to write to me. You know not how much pleasure it would give me. As my parents are dead, your advice & assistance of me are more necessary. I yesterday saw my grandfather & grandmother. He is in good health & spirits, but she is very infirm, as she has not (nor I fear never will) recovered a stroke of y^e palsy she had y^e last summer.

I would beg your prayers for me & assistance to me by your advice & counsel, & to believe me to be, rev. & d^r Sir,

Your most affect^d freind & hum. ser.,

PETER THACHER.

Rev. Jeremy Belknap.

PETER THACHER TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

CAMBRIDGE, May 19th, 1769.

REV. & DEAR SIR, — You know not how much pleasure the reception of your letter gave me. It was, indeed, a cordial to my heart. I knew not but that you had for-

gotten me; for I do not remember to have received a letter from you for near (or quite) a twelvemonth. For so good, so long a letter as your last, I am very much obliged to you.

You say, d^r Sir, it gives you pleasure to hear of my “entering into y^e kingdom of Christ, & of my determination to devote myself to y^e Gospel ministry.” Indeed, it gives me also the sincerest pleasure. I hope I have been enabled to devote myself & all my interests, abilities, & opportunities to y^e service & glory of my Creator & Redeemer. You know, Sir, I always entertained a design to preach. This has been my determination for a number of years; but, Sir, I knew not for what. I knew not what were my inducements, nor what my motives. I am ready sometimes to think that even now my motives are not right. That text, Jer. 14. 14, should make every one fearful how he engages in this great work. I am afraid of running before I am sent; but, Sir, I know of no business nor profession of life in which I shall be so likely to promote the glory of God & the good of my fellow-men as this. I hope & trust I am ready & willing to devote all my time & talents to promote & advance these ends. These were the ends for which I was sent into y^e ☉, & I cannot but esteem it my duty to engage in this work, as I find a very strong inclination for it, & I hope a trust on the sufficiency & grace of X to help & assist me in it. This, Sir, is my case, & now I would beg your candid & impartial opinion whether I ought to engage herein or no; but I can’t think of doing anything else, if I can engage herein justly & with a good conscience.

I take extremely kindly your cautions & warnings. I doubt not but that they were dictated by a sincere regard to me. I cannot but esteem it a great token of your freindship. Indeed, I have need of such cautions. When I first entered on y^e Xtian warfare I was taught by bitter experience to place no confidence in my own strength.

I was *made* to feel that of myself I could do nothing; that I must have grace from above to assist me in all my conflicts with the great adversary of souls, & with my own lusts & corruptions. I hope & trust I have been enabled to look to X for help & assistance herein. I am at some times less sensible of this than at others, but I am made soon, I hope, to recover myself, & am brought into a better frame.

When I was first made sensible of my need of a Saviour, & that there was salvation for me in Jesus Christ, when I was first enabled sincerely to desire to obey his commands, & that I might derive grace & assistance from him, every difficulty, all opposition, seemed to sink before me. I thought nothing could discourage me, that everything would go on smooth & easy (not but y^t I was sensible there was difficultys & dangers in my way). I was in too great a measure insensible of the corruption that was within me, & of y^e great deceitfulness of my own heart; but I now discover so much of both these that I am sometimes ready to suspect all & to think I am a very hypocrite. Oh, Sir, you know not how much of these there is within me. I am very apt to determine upon doing a thing before I examine into my motives for it, & so judge of my motives by the action, & not of y^e action by y^e motives; but I hope & trust the prevailing bent of my mind & will is for God, that I fear above all things to offend him, that I esteem it my highest pleasure to do his will, that I depend upon y^e merits of X alone for pardon & acceptance with God, that I rely upon his grace to assist & help me in every time of need, & that all my own righteousnesses are but as filthy rags. I beg your prayers that I may be strong in the grace w^h is in Christ Jesus, & that my path may be that of y^e just, w^h as y^e rising light shineth more & more unto the perfect day.

I find your observation with regard to ministers' advice to be very just; for I have asked several, & I don't know

of any 2 of y^m w^o point out to me the same plan; one advises to one thing, another to another. If I should follow every one's advice I should very soon get lost. Your advice with regard to studying the Scriptures is very good. I determine to follow it. Indeed, I would make them my principal study. I would "meditate in y^e law of y^e Lord both day & night"; but I should be glad if you would point out to me some method in w^o it is best to study them. This is my present course: I read early in y^e morning 2 or more chapters merely with a practical view to know what the mind of the Lord is, & what he would have me to do. After breakfast I read one or more chapters in y^e Greek Testament, & immediately after 3 sections in Doddridge's Family Expositor. In y^e course of the day I read authors upon divinity chiefly, besides attending college exercises & other necessary avocations. Just before I go to bed I commonly read 2 chapters in y^e Old Testament. This is my common course. I have read Abernethy on y^e Being & Perfections of a God, Leland's Advantages & Necessity of Revelation, Jenkins's Reasonableness of Xianity, Campbell's Evidence, Edwards on y^e Will, Original Sin, & his treatise on Religious Affections, Dickinson's Five Points, & Niles on Original Sin. I have been reading lately Chandler's Reply to Morgan, Cripplegate Morning Exercises, with a variety of other books, among w^o has been Doddridge's Life. I do not here enumerate books of a practical kind, such as Doddridge's Rise & Progress, sermons, &c. I purpose immediately to go thro' Doddridge's Lectures, w^o has not only your recommendation, but that of D^r Cooper, D^r Eliot, &c.

I cannot help at vacant times employing myself in writing. This I find a most agreeable task. Indeed, I cannot but take y^e highest pleasure in it; for I have been from my youth up a sermonizer.

There is no part of your advice so difficult for me to

follow as that of avoiding prejudice in favour of any scheme of divinity; for I cannot help looking upon y^e Calvinistic (as it is called) to be y^e most agreeable to Scripture & to reason. I think it has y^e greatest tendency to exalt God, & to depress & humble y^e pride of man. This being the case, I have read no books scarcely upon y^e other side of y^e question. I have been too apt to take up first my principles & then look out for proofs of them. This may be owing in a great measure to y^e force of education. I would now ask you, what shall I do? I hope & trust I desire to know what y^e truth is, for I w^d neither beleive myself nor teach others to beleive falsehood or error. The greatest part of these principles I am able (I beleive) to demonstrate from Scripture; but I doubt I embraced y^m at first, not because I looked upon y^m after examination to be y^e truth, but because I had always been taught to esteem them so. These are at present my principles, but I hope & trust if I thought y^m inconsistent with Scripture I should be ready most willingly to give them up. I would beg your advice in this, & y^e other regards as soon as possible. I have long endeavoured agreeable to y^r advice to make divinity as well as other scien[c]es subservient to the spiritual benefit & advantage of my own soul. Divinity is truly a science in w^o we have y^e greatest opportunitys of advancing in grace, holiness, & y^e knowledge of Christ. 'Tis a great talent committed to our trust; let us be careful of improving it to y^e honor & glory of our gracious Master. I doubt not but that there are many ministers of y^e class you mention, w^o understand divinity as a speculative science, but know nothing of y^e power of godliness, many to w^m that passage of S^t Paul may be applied, "They are as a sounding brass & a tinkling cymbal." Indeed I cannot but esteem an unconverted minister to be a perfect solecism. A guide to heaven walking in y^e road to hell is surely a contradiction in terms. A sincere love to

God & a desire to promote y^e spiritual & eternal welfare of souls ought to actuate every minister of y^e Gospel. Of neither of these can an unconverted man be possessed; neither would I engage in y^e work of y^e ministry, did I think myself in such a condition, for ten thousand worlds.

The observations you make in y^e beginning of your letter with regard to humility are undoubtedly just. Humility is essential to Christianity, at least to y^e power of it in a soul. Pride is y^e bane of young ministers. Spiritual pride is y^e bane of every Christian. Your cautions to me are peculiarly seasonable, therefore. I am obliged to you for y^m. Pray that I may deal justly, love mercy, & walk humbly with my God.

I beleive I shall take Roxbury School. There are some peculiar advantages of situation, &c., w^e induce to desire it. I have a prospect of getting it.

Our President is extremely low, & I quære whether he will be in y^e land of y^e living when this reaches you.* Help, Lord, for y^e godly man ceaseth, the faithful fail from among thy people.

My grandfather lately met with a fall from his horse, w^e disabled him for a good while, & renders him at present very infirm. My grandmother still continues in y^e land of y^e living, tho' her mental powers, as well as bodily faculties, are much decayed. I should not be surprised were I to hear of y^e death of her or my grandfather.†

M^r Leonard has moved to Milton with his family. Bathsha has an humble servant, a classmate of yours, I beleive; his name is Dummer Rogers, a lawyer.‡

I take notice of your caution not to preach too soon.

* President Holyoke died June 1, 1769. — Eds.

† Oxenbridge Thacher, grandfather of the writer of this letter. was born May 17, 1681, and died Oct. 29, 1772, outliving his more famous son of the same name upward of seven years. (See History of Milton, Mass., pp. 245, 510.) — Eds.

‡ Jeremiah Dummer Rogers was born in Littleton, Mass., April 5, 1743, and graduated at Harvard College in 1762. He married Bathsheba, a daughter of the second Oxenbridge Thacher, and sister of Rev. Peter Thacher, but espoused the cause of the mother country. After the evacuation of Boston he went to Halifax, N. S., where he died in the early part of 1784. (See Sabine's American Loyalists, vol. ii. pp. 232, 233.) — Eds.

I hope I shan't; wⁿever I shall be qualified to do good, it will be my duty to begin, will it not? I am too impatient naturally; I am too much in a hurry in most affairs, but I determine to act by advice in y^s affair. When it is my duty to begin, I hope I shall; before, I desire not to.

'Tis probable we shall have a private Commencement. The President some time since gave me y^e Salutory Oration. This is a troublesome peice of business. I should be glad to get rid of it.

It gives me great pleasure to hear that you intend us a visit. Forget not your Alma Mater. By y^e way, why can't you come & spend Sabbath with us? 'Twould give me great pleasure to hear you in M^r Appleton's pulpit, but by no means go away without seeing me. I have not had a sight of you since you came to Boston to M^{rs} Eliot's funeral.

Never forget me, d^r Sir; when you are at y^e throne of grace, let me be particularly remembered by you. Y^e variety of temptations to which I am exposed, my present critical situation, & y^e need I stand in of divine aid & assistance ought all to have their weight with you & give force to this request. Jam. 5. 16.

I shall read y^e books you recommend as soon as I have opportunity. I remember your Ruthy with the sincerest regard.

Finally, d^r Sir, may God Almighty bless you & yours; may you have all y^e grace & assistance you need in your important & arduous office; may you be y^e means of convincing & converting many a soul; may you be a burning & shining light in y^e candlestick of y^e Lord, & say with holy Paul, when you come to dye, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth is laid up for me a crown of glory that fadeth not away.

This is y^e sincere prayer of, d^r Sir, your truly affectionate freind,

PETER THACHER.

I have neither time nor inclination to write this over again. You will excuse with your wonted candor all inaccuracies, for I abound in y^m. *Vale, domine reverende, & valeant tui.*

Upon a revisal of y^e within letter, there are some expressions w^e savour too much of boasting. Beleive me, my dear freind, I aimed not at it. I have endeavoured to lay open to you my whole soul. Favour me with your advice continually. I write to you as to a freind. What I impart to you I esteem to be yet a secret. Excuse all my fredom, & beleive me to be,

Yours sincerely,

P. THACHER.

P. S. 3. I much question whether I shall visit y^e eastward this summer; for I must enter immediately after Commencement on my school, if I take it; & I see at present no prospect of my going before.

JOHN STAFFORD TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

LONDON, April 10th, 1770.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — I suppose long before this time you have given over all expectation of hearing from me in answer to your very respectful letter, which by some means did not come to hand till near 13 months after the date thereof. Ever since I have been enquiring after a more expeditious method of communication, which I hope I have now heard of, in the son of one of my honour'd tutors, who is just ready to cross the Atlantic Ocean, bound, I think, for New York. But as such opportunities don't happen so frequently as to keep up any tolerable

* Rev. John Stafford was minister of the Independent Church in New Broad Street, London. He was born in Leicester, England, in 1728, studied under Dr. Doddridge, and died in 1799. — EDS.

correspondence, I should be glad to make use of the packet, as it will be the most certain.

As to the point in question, I imagine we are equally interested. Many who seem to be reall X^{tians} are with great difficulty brought to give up themselves unto full communion. If you ask why do they call Christ Lord, if they regard only one of his words? they will answer, "If our evidences were clear & unclouded, all our difficulties are removed. But to vary the metaphor, who shall roll away this stone from us? Here lies the mighty doubt." We attempt to describe the nature of regeneration, conversion, &c. We describe faith itself, not like our old divines, who generally define it to contain a strong persuasion, sweet appropriations, &c., which I rather look upon as its effects than its nature, and into which definitions I suppose they were led by their daily opposition to the Church of Rome, as also by their taking the Scripture definitions of sanctifying faith for justifying, &c. We attempt to describe the acts of faith in the very language of the closet, which I generally find most intelligible to serious minds; and yet I believe there are many in my congregation who love Christ are by temptations, &c., kept from the Lord's table.

In order to remedy this, there are some of the Independent churches, & all the Presbyterians, throw open the doors, insist upon nothing as absolutely necessary to communion but a belief that X^t is the Messiah, and a moral conversation; but even this I have often seen is far from answering the end propos'd. Some walk unworthy, and serious minds dare not sit down with them. Thus the kingly office of Christ is made void.

As to the other sacrament, some will not baptize any children but those of church members, i. e. such as are in full commⁿ; others baptize all infants without exception. The usuall way is to baptize the infants of such as by their regular attendance upon the preaching of the

word seem to be well disposed tow'ards Christ and his Gospel, especially if there is nothing contrary thereto in their life and conversation, such as drunkenness, Sabbath breaking, &c.

We are generally of opinion that baptism is not a church ordinance, & therefore ought not to be confind either to communicants or their infant seed. Such a profession of faith in Christ as would satisfy my mind as to one ordinance will not satisfy as to the other.

But if men still think they are Christians, and yet live in the neglect of the Lord's supper, we enquire into their reasons; if mere scruples, we attempt to remove them; if we have no possitive evidence of their special relation to Christ, we point out the danger of their state; & if because of these things they withdraw from us, & go either to the Presbyterians or to the Church of England, we comfort ourselves that whatever we lose for Christ in this world we shall gain in the other.

You add, "By this means our churches are become very corrupt, the distinction between the Church & the world is lost, little regard paid to X^{ts} institutions because they think there's no obligation to attend it," &c.

I answer, we never look upon any persons as church members till they make a public profession of Christ & their dependence upon him; till then they are never suffered to vote with the church in the choice of a minister, &c. We call them hearers, subscribers, &c., but they are never *consulted*, except among the Presbyterians, or in a hall congregation in the country where discipline is almost lost. We reckon them still in the world, & endeavour to teach them to think so. And' altho' by this means we may be thought to have but few church members, perhaps but 200 or less even in London, we find the Gospel could not be kept in any place long without this precaution of excluding the votes of mere subscribers.

If I don't mistake, Dr Jonⁿ Edwards & many other very considerable divines tho't that the Lord's supper is a converting ordinance, and if this notion was to prevail in England, the Gospel could not (humanly speaking) remain with us half a century. Nothing w^d. destroy it so soon. If carnal men were once allowed to chuse ministers, they would never chuse faithful Gospel ones, but would chuse prophets after their own heart.

The congregational method which we practice is tho't by some serious people to be too strict, and some are frequently going off to the latitude men; but so long as we see the Gospel daily lose ground amongst them, we see little reason to follow their example.

If a person chuses to join us, he is proposed a month before he is to be admitted, two persons are deputed by the church to converse wth him as to his knowledge & experience; they generally persuade him to write down a few things essential to the divine life, conviction of sin, application to the Saviour, assuring him that this is contributing to the experience of the church, and often useful to others. It appears desirable that he would point out the means of such improvement, convictions, impressions, whether by the word read, preach'd, &c., or whether by any remarkable dispensations of Providence; these things being read or spoken to the church on the Thursday before the Lds. supper, w^{ch} is generally every first Sabbath in the month, he is told the duties of a church member, as also the privileges, &c.

You will find an excellent account of our discipline in Mr Maurice's Social Religion, 8^{vo}.

I am very thankful for the pamphlets, &c.; in return I beg your acceptance of my Confession, Dr Owen's Evidences, & a ser. preached at my place, which I trust you will read with pleasure. As also a masterly Defence of the Doctrine of Predestination, which I recommend as a supplement to Cooper's of Boston.

I sincerely beg the favor of a frequent correspondence in which you will be pleased to give me an acc^t of the state of religion in the New World, especially where there are any revivals of it in your own or in the congregations of neighbouring ministers. I bless God I have seen more of it in our little society this year than for many years; 18 added to communion seems a great number in these days. May the Lord grant us both much of his presence & blessing. Let me & mine share in y^r addresses at the throne, where I hope y^t we shall often meet even here, & spend an happy eternity in the enjoyment of God & the Lamb. Amen & amen.

Direct to me at N^o 10, Bunhill Row, London.

As to the Sandimaniāns, I can only say they are not upon the increase with us. I rejoice they have done no more mischief with you. M^r Pike is cut off for the sin of covetousness, i. e. reserving 200£ as a marriage portion for his youngest daughter.

As for politics you know as much by the paper as I do. I fear the present Ministry will not revoke or repeal all the Revenue Acts. One remains to show the claim of authority, but it seems to most people to be an argument of weakness. The Ministry are not hūble enough to say, We were mistaken.

M^r Dennis De Bert, my near neighbour, died last Tuesday morning. But I don't imagine the agency of the Colonies w^{ch} was in his hands can come into worse, as he was a man of no influence, being poor, & I suppose will prove insolvent.

If the Colonies had greater men agents, they would have been treated in a very different manner.

I can only add, I am sometimes reprov'd by those words, My kingdom is not of this world.

I rest your affectionate friend and brother in Christ,

JOHN STAFFORD.

ANDREW ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

To the Rev^d Mr Jeremy Belknap, in Dover.

BOSTON, Dec. 16, 1772.

DEAR SIR,—I am obliged to you for your letters of Nov. 19 & Nov. 30. According to your request, I look'd over those parts of Mr Hubbard's History which my son had transcribed. They were sent in hast, without my knowlege, or I had written to you by the bearer of them. My son hath transcribed a great part of Mr Hubbard, & desires you would preserve those extracts he hath sent you that they may be added to the rest.

I thank you for the copy of the vote of New Hampshire Assembly, but there is another vote which you have not sent. The money was first voted to the apparatus, but was afterwards transfered to the library & was laid out in books. It is of no great consequence, but if it shall at any time be in your way to procure the last vote I should be glad to have it.

I am glad to hear your dear consort is recovered of her indisposition. Remember my most affectionate regards to her. Your aunt sends her kindest wishes to you both.

Your welfare will always give the greatest pleasure to,

My dear Sir, your obliged friend & brother,

ANDREW ELIOT.

DEPOSITION IN FAVOR OF GOVERNOR WENTWORTH†

I, Jeremy Belknap, minister of the Gospel, in Dover, in his Majesty's Province of New Hampshire, testify &

* Rev. Andrew Eliot, D.D., (born Dec. 25, 1718, graduated at Harvard College in 1737, settled over the New North Church, Boston, in 1742, died Sept. 13, 1778,) was the uncle of Mrs. Belknap. The second paragraph of this letter refers to a donation from the Province of New Hampshire to Harvard College, after the fire in 1764. (See Quincy's History of Harvard University, vol. ii. p. 491.) — EDS.

† Governor John Wentworth was born in 1737, and graduated at Harvard College in 1755. In August, 1766, on the resignation of his uncle, Benning Wentworth, he was

declare, — That I have lived in this Province about eight years, and that since John Wentworth, Esq., was appointed to the chief seat of government therein, so far as I have had opportunity to hear & observe, he hath merited the esteem of the people in general among whom I have lived & conversed, & hath in divers instances shewn a just regard to the true interest of the Province, in connexion with his Majesty's service; particularly in encouraging learning and agriculture, by reason of which the Province is much advanced in value & reputation. And I do not know that the people suffer any injuries or grievances of which the s^d Governor ought to bear the blame. And so far as I am capable of judging, I believe that, if a general suffrage were called for, it would be in favour of his continuance in office.

And further, I declare that, so far as I am able or have had opportunity to observe, the people in this Province are, & on all proper occasions have proved themselves to be, equally loyal to their King and jealous of encroachments on their rights and priviledges.

And lastly I declare, that I am not dependent on the said Governor Wentworth for any honors or favors whatsoever, and that I subscribe this testimony only from a regard to truth & justice.

JEREMY BELKNAP.

DOVER, January 1, 1773.

Sworn before John Sullivan, Esq., Jan^y. 4, 1773.

Indorsed by Mr. Belknap: "Copy of my Deposition in favor of y^e Governor. Jan., 1773."

appointed Governor of New Hampshire, which office he held until the suppression of the royal authority there. He then went to Boston, and on the evacuation of that town he went to Halifax, N. S., and some time afterward to England. In 1783 he was commissioned as Surveyor General of the King's Woods in North America, and returned to Halifax. In May, 1792, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia; and in 1795 he was created a Baronet. In 1808 he resigned the governorship on account of the infirmities of age. He died in Halifax, April 8, 1820. The relations between him and Mr. Belknap were always of the most friendly character; and he furnished important materials for the History of New Hampshire. (See Wentworth Genealogy, vol. i. pp. 536-550).— Eds.

JOHN WENTWORTH TO T. W. WALDRON.*

PORTSMOUTH, August 31st, 1773.

MY DEAR SIR, — Mr. Rindge gave me your kind letter of the 27th ins^t this morning. It wou'd have highly pleas'd me to have met good M^r Belknap & Col^o B. at the College,† where the former wou'd have found ample entertainment & gladness to his accomplish'd and benevolent mind in the meritorious exhibitions of the graduates at D. Coll., which fully evinc'd the care that had been taken in their education and the future benefit that may rationally be expected in future to flow from that promising institution, both to literature and Xtianity thro' this & the adjacent Provinces, as well as to the natives of the land, whose ancestors have been providentially remov'd to leave it a comfortable & safe residence to us. And the latter have furnish'd himself with an abundant store of admiration & pleas'd communications to his well wishing circle. Time will not now permit me to mention the particulars, but I must say, in general, the improvements are in ev'ry branch beyond the best hopes of its very best friends.

At Exeter & Derry the news you suggest broke in upon me well prepar'd, for I had (the day I set out) rece'd. it from my friends by Lyde, in dispatches of the latest hour by that ship.‡ At the same time they assure me

* Thomas Westbrook Waldron was the great-grandson of Major Richard Waldron, one of the most prominent figures in the early history of New Hampshire. He filled many important offices, and died in Dover, April 3, 1785, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. According to the New Hampshire Gazette of April 15, 1785, "He was the first volunteer in New Hampshire who enlisted in the memorable expedition to Cape Breton, in 1745, where he bore a Captain's commission. For near twenty years he represented the town of Dover in the General Court, and in 1771 was appointed a member of the Council, in which office he continued till the Revolution. Though a firm friend to the independence of America (which he predicted long before it happened), his growing infirmities obliged him to decline the re-election with which his country then honoured him, and content himself with serving the county of Strafford as Recorder and Treasurer, which he did from the time of its erection in 1773 to his death." — Eds.

† Dartmouth College. — Eds.

‡ The reference here is to the charges against Governor Wentworth exhibited to the

my safety arises from the highest hand, who had been previously mov'd in my favor, & then memorialled upon the merits of Gov^r W's administr^a which was declared to be legal & necessary by those *able to prove it so*, and have full justice in their assertion. These (kindly) guarded me against any apprehensions from the Report, w^h might have been soften'd to nothing, but was refus'd untill sanctify'd with the highest hand we know on earth. This I hope the next ship will give, to suppress the folly of an unprincipled opposition, and to yeild comfort to those I love, who I am delighted to find more attach'd to me under their expectations of my being prevail'd over than ever before; I well knew a few days must absolutely determine the whole, and therefore tho't it best to be so reserved upon the last advices as might leave such room for triumph during my absence as shou'd call forth secret enemies. It succeeded. Many have most unexpectedly declared both for & against me. The torrent of obloquy overflow'd, even to abuse of my servants and oblique insults to M^{rs} W., who with that resolution becoming her rank and name was affected toward them with pity & contempt. My new made friend, as you well foresaw, stood foremost, & instead of one offerd ten thousand, together with heart & hand, immediately broke with all the party, declaring his fast friendship from principle of, I believe present feelings w^h were renew'd by 3 visits (to me yesterday) of strong professions & some information.

The names you mention'd have often been in contemplation for the benches, and I am in hopes soon to begin with them in this county. The D^r named in my last to you takes part against me, & L. is now the *declared* friend of L——s. He strenuously endeavor'd to get the pamphlet reprinted here, but was refus'd & is now at Boston,

Board of Trade in England by Peter Livius, one of the Council of New Hampshire. Dr. Belknap gives a full account of the matter in the History of New Hampshire, vol. ii. pp. 355-366. — Eps.

probably on that business, in which I wish he may succeed, as I am convinc'd it is spurious, tho' under signature of those L'ds who were against me; for it disagrees *materially* with my *undoubted* manuscript communicated by *Royal* order. This will of course offend highly, & prove useful to me. The voyage to England, I beleive, will be unnecessary on this affair, but must follow some time after its decision, to do away the infamous impressions lodged against me most falsely. The next paquet must determine the whole matter, if she leaves England after the 20th July; from authority too respect^a to admit a doubt of their being deceiv'd, or a possibility that they wou'd suffer me to be deceiv'd, I have nothing to fear but much to hope. Yet the event of war is precarious, & therefore I wish to see an end of this affair, from whence issues such deluges of small spite & envious malignity, which like the buzz of muskitoes disturb our repose tho' they can't destroy our health. The variety of rumours spread upon this late pamphlet's arrival have now pretty tho'ro'ly militated each other into silence. In a few days they'll be still more ridiculous. That the same may soon arrive, I rejoice is equally yours with many others whom I love, as it is my wish, & therein renders a state of suspence cordially consoled, and even pleasing to, my dear Sir,

Your truely affec^t and very faithful friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

P. S. I am at a loss how the report of my removal to Mass^a has prevail'd, but beleive such an event not improbable, if my enemies are defeated in their present attempt; for they foresee the improbability of any man's remaining long there, unless a change in European measures, w^h mayn't be expected. This I fear will be the next manœuvre to render my stability less sure. God forbid; for tho' I don't dislike Mass^a, in truth I have an affection for N. II. & flatter myself that I can & desire to do them

more good than any other man who may rationally be expected to succeed me.

Yours, J. W.

Hon^{ble} T. W. Waldron, Esq.

JOHN WENTWORTH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

To the Reverend Jeremy Belknap, at Dover.

PORTSMOUTH, 10th March, 1774.

DEAR SIR, — As I sincerely regret your long indisposition it affords me real pleasure to hear of your returning health, which I earnestly wish may be long & happily establish'd.

I have obtain'd from the proprietary office and herewith inclose you an authentic copy of Cap^t Mason's will, which you'll be so good to return me, as it is very material to their archive. The chronological enumeration, or rather memorandum of facts, may probably be useful. I expect soon to procure some further information relative to this title, which shall be immediately transmitted to you.

Gov^r Hutchinson has lent Gorges' History & cannot remember to whom. I have wrote repeatedly, & particularly last week, to my friend, Dr Caner,* who promises me his best efforts to find & send it to me, together with Ogilvie or Ogilby's History, in w^h are many curious & tolerably authenticated anecdotes.†

In conversation with an old man, I find "The small pox spread in Portsm^o & Greenland anno 1692; many died for want of attendance; it was bro't in cotton wool from the West Indies."

* Dr. Caner was at that time Rector of King's Chapel, Boston. On the evacuation of the town he went to Halifax, N. S., and afterward to England, where he died. — EDS.

† The book meant is Ogilby's "America: being the latest and most accurate Description of the New World." It was one of the books given to the Historical Society on its organization, and is in Mr. Tudor's list handed in at the second meeting of the Society. — EDS.

Whatever materials may come in my way to further your very useful design, I shall carefully collect & transmit; indeed, I have little other apology than my desire to afford ev'ry assistance for mentioning the preceding incident, and as it will serve to evince my good wishes to your work.

I am, with real esteem & regard, my dear & rev^d Sir,
Your friend & hble. serv^t,

J. WENTWORTH.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap.

Indorsed: "Rec^d abt. $\frac{1}{4}$ hour since, under cover to your respectfl.
T. W. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ after 6 o'clock, P. M."

JEREMY BELKNAP TO JOHN WENTWORTH.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r Exc^y, — Herewith I return the copy of Cap^t Mason's will, with my thanks to y^r Exc^y for y^r kind care & attention to my requests, whereby I am encouraged still further to acquaint you with what is absolutely nec^y to y^e work in hand.

As this Province was subject to y^e Massachusetts about 40 years, from 1639 to 1679 or 80, & after the Revolution from 1689 to 1692, when M^r Allen was commissioned, during w^{ch} later period the inhabitants here put themselves again under their protection, I should be glad to have their public records searched & copies taken of every vote, act, or order concern^s Piscataqua, the county of Norfolk, or y^e towns of Portsm^o, Dover, Exeter, & Hampton, or any particular persons, matters, or things within y^e same, with y^e names of those who represented these towns in the Gen^l Court, & were appointed to civil or military offices, &c. I should not give y^r Exc^y this trouble if it were practicable for me to make such search myself; but I do not expect to be able to go to Boston till y^e time when the Court usually sits, & as y^e records

are kept in y^e Court House, it will be difficult getting access to y^m at that time; besides all y^e time I shall be able to spare will be spent in search^g y^e papers of y^e late M^r Prince, of w^{ch} there is a vast number lying in a most shamefully chaotic state.

I submit to y^r Exc^y whether it would be proper to desire y^r worthy friend, D^r Caner, to apply to y^e Rev. M^r Usher of Bristol* (if he be still living) for any papers or anecdotes w^{ch} he may have in his memory or possession relative to y^e administrations & characters of y^e Governors Allen, Usher, & Partridge, or any other matters w^{ch} may deserve notice. Characters of y^e principal persons y^t have figured in the Province will be an essential part of y^e proposed plan.

There is an ancient book extant by one Josselyn, who was somehow connected wth Mason, giving some acco^t of y^e country; if that could be procured, I believe it would be useful.

I shall thankfully accept all communications from y^r Ex^y & shall be peculiarly glad to be ascertained of y^e fact of Cap^t Mason's having been *personally* in y^e country after his grant was made, w^{ch} y^r Ex^y mentions, because I find nothing s^d of it in Hubbard's MS. History, or y^e printed state of Allen's title, or Douglass's Summary, & it was a point often contested, whether he ever had legal possession.

Indorsed by Dr. Belknap: "Copy to y^e Gov^r, March 15, 1774."

THEODORE ATKINSON TO JEREMY BELKNAP.†

PORTSM^o, August 3^d, 1774.

REVE^p S^r,—In compliance with your request of the 29th ult^o, I now inclose you what I have been able to

* Rev. John Usher, an Episcopal clergyman at Bristol, R. I., was a grandson of Samuel Allen and John Usher. He was born at Bristol, Sept. 27, 1723, graduated at Harvard College in 1743, and died July —, 1804. — Eds.

† Theodore Atkinson was born at New Castle, N. H., Dec. 20, 1697, and graduated at

collect from the records, files, commonly rec^d opinions relative to the three gentlemen you mentioned, viz. Govern^r Allen, L^t Govern^r Usher, & L^t Govern^r Partridge. The first was stiled Samuel Allen, of London, Esq., which was the place of his residence; he by deed dated the 27 April, 1691, purchased of the descendents of John Mason, Esq., all their right in & to the soil, &^{ca}, of Mason's Patent, so called, begining at Naumkeg, thence along the sea-coast to Cape Ann, & thence to Piscataq^a River & up thro' Newhickwanock River to the furthest head thereof, &c^a; by virtue of this purchase he (I suppose) solisited & obtained in the year 1692 a commission from King William & Queen Mary, appointing him Govern^r & Co^m-ander in Chief of New Hampshire. And in the same co^mission John Usher, Esq., was appointed L^t Govern^r thereof, with authority in Allen's absence to execute said comission in chief, which Usher accordingly did the whole time of its being in force, and which was superseded by the Earl of Bellomont's co^mission, proclaimed here the 31 of July, 1699. Governor Allen did not come to this country til some time in the year 1700, so that what sorte of administrtion he would (as Co^mand^r in Chief) have exhibited is merely conjectural. In his private life he was rather solitary than sociable, not remarkable for any great degree of learning or abilities, nor, I believe, of any considerable estate; all his pursuite was fixed upon affairs of Mason's Patent, the whole of which he (for want of money, I suppose) mortgaged to his son-in-law, Lt. Govern Usher, for £1500. This was in the

Harvard College in 1718. Two years afterward he was appointed Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas; and he was subsequently Collector of the Customs, Naval Officer, and Sheriff of the Province. "In 1734, he was admitted to a seat in the Council, and in 1741 was appointed Secretary of the Province, which office he resigned after several years in favour of his son, who succeeded him. He was one of the delegates to the Congress which met at Albany in June, 1754. Immediately on his return he was appointed Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature, and after the death of his son, in 1769, was reappointed Secretary of the Province, and continued to exercise these offices until the Revolution." He died Sept. 22, 1779. (See Adams's *Annals of Portsmouth*, pp. 269-271.) His son, of the same name, was the first husband of Lady Wentworth. — EDS.

year 1701, & in the year 1706, Tho^s Allen, his only son, conveys by two several deeds one half of the said Patent to S^r Charles Hobby. So 'tis plain that Samuel the father died between 1701 & 1706, and was buryed in the fort at New Castle. He left one son, viz. Thomas, & four daughters; whether Tho^s, the son, was ever in New England or not I cannot determine, but I rather think he was not. All that ever I heard of him were things transacted in England. He married in London, & there died in or about the year 1715, left two sons & one daughter, infants. The 4 daughters above mentioned were all married in this country, viz.: one married to L^t G. Usher, one to George Walton, late of Newington, Esq., one to Cap^t Steel, & the other to M^r Locklin, both of Boston. Each of these left children. Governour Allin died intestate.

As to John Usher, Esq., whether he was a native of Old or New England, I am uncertain; but he was in this country in his younger days & carried on the stationers business at Boston, but before or about the time he rec^d his comission for L^t Gov^r of this Prov. he moved to his farm at Mistick & made that the place of his residence. He was twice Lie^t Govern^r of this Prov., the first time comenced & ended with Govern^r Allen's comission above mentiond; during the whole of that time he acted as Comander in Chief, which was about 7 or 8 years, when Govern^r Partridge was appointed L^t Govern^r to the Earl of Bellomont. M^r Usher, in 1703, was again appointed L^t Govern^r in Govern^r Dudley's administration, which post he sustained till the year 1715, when Coll. Burges was appointed Govern^r & George Vaughan, Esq., L^t Gov^r. After this change Usher fixed at Mistick, where in some few years he died. He enjoyed a large estate while he lived, was generous & open; no great politician, therefore not extremly well qualified for a chief in government. He was not ill natured, but affected to be austere & noisey in conversation, or in orders when in comãd, fond of

presiding in affairs of governm^t, often journeying into this Province when it was tho^t by others there was no necessity for his being present. When in the Province he was too frequently summoning the Council when he had nothing material to lay before them. When the Assembly was sitting, he was frequently duning for allowances for services in journeying, &^{ca}, but seldom prevaild or rec^d more than was barely necessary to defrey his travilling expences, if so much. He left sund^y children, one son, now an Episcopal priest at Bristoll in Road Island.*

I am now got to M^r Partridge, the 3^d & last gentleman mentioned in your letter (& am glad, — you will be so too, if your patience holds out to read thus far). He was appointed L^t Govern^r of the Province in or about the year 1699, the time the Earl of Bellomont was appointed Govern^r & he executed that office 'til the Earl died, & so on till about a year into Govern^r Dudley's administration, when he was superseded by L^t Gov^r Usher's 2^d appointment, as above mentioned. L^t Gover. Partridge, I believe, was a native of Portsm^o in N. H. He had many relations in this town, perticularly two brothers; one lived & died upon an island that he ownd that stil bears his name & lying between Portsm^o & New Castle; the other lived & died in Portsm^o. The L^t Govern^r's place of residence til after his being superseded as L^t G. was at Portsm^o, when he moved his family to Newbury, where he entered into mercantile affairs & building vessells of much larger dimentions than had ever been built there, & he made one voyage to London in one of them. He was not very rich, but had a comfortable estate. He had only the com^on learning of this town; he had an extraordinary mechanical genius, was cunning & politick in the nanagement of publick affairs. He had many children one of his sons lived in London, & was many years agent of this

* See note, *ante*, p. 49. — Eds.

Province at the Court of Great Britain, & one of his daughters was married to Jonathan Belcher, Esq., afterward Govern^r of this Province & alsoe of the Massachusetts.

You will, S^r, upon the perusal of the above, see I have wanderd from the directions you assigned me in your request, and introduced many things foreign to them; viz., when I have introduced facts upon conjecture (viz.), as Allen's obtaining his comission by claiming Mason's right; his death, by the different dates of his & son's deed, &^{ca}; also of Usher's being a native of New England,—this supposed by his younger days in business at Boston; the same of Partridge's being originally of Portsm^o,—suggested by his relations, brothers, &^{ca}. You'l observe I have said nothing of their ancestours. Of them I have nothing to say, not having ever heard the least mention made of any one of them.

As to my journey to Canada, which I think was in the year 1724/5; on my return I reported to the Govern^r in writing the perticulars that occurrd while at Canada, which probably might have been of use now, but they are lost; tis possible I still have somewhere my travelling journal, in which I might probably minute some transactions that may be worth notice. I'll diligently search it, & you shall have the produce if anything in it material.

Now, S^r, when you read this incorrect piece, do it with candour. My age & the frequent interruptions my situations is subject to is my apology. If any thing meets your approbation I have my reward, and am, S^r, with much respect,

Your most obedient humble serv^t,

THEODORE ATKINSON.

Reverend M^r Belknap, Dover.

JOHN WENTWORTH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

*To The Reverend Jeremy Belknap, at Dover.*PORTSMOUTH, 23rd Sep^r, 1774.

MY DEAR SIR, — Upon recollection I judg'd it wou'd be more extensively useful for your design to request the assistance of M^r Fisher, who has an intimacy with M^r Dowse, and will have probably a more general influence to procure any other papers that may possibly be discover'd in or by the perusal of M^r Usher's. If you shou'd find any that are interesting to your design, or to this Province, which are necessary to be transcrib'd, I desire you wou'd employ a clerk therein, and I will with pleasure discharge the expence. My best wishes constantly attend you, being with real esteem & regard, dear & rev^d Sir,

Your unfeigned friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

Reverend Jeremy Belknap.

SAMUEL SWIFT TO THOMAS CUSHING.*

*On his Majesty's service. To the Hon^{ble} Thomas Cushing, Esq., at Philadelphia.*GENTⁿ, — Y^r families are well.

Since I wrote you, jealousies seem to rise higher between the people & the army. It has been rumour'd they were about to fortifie Dorchester Neck, which if they attempt I am well satisfy^d the people will rise; but at p^rsent that report seems to subside. There was a plan of their in-

* Thomas Cushing (born in Boston, March 24, 1725, graduated at Harvard College in 1744, died Feb. 28, 1788) had been for many years one of the Representatives from Boston in the General Court, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and a prominent leader on the popular side. At this time he was one of the Delegates from Massachusetts in the Congress at Philadelphia. Samuel Swift was one of the Committee of Safety, and a prominent man at the North End. He died before the Declaration of Independence; and his will was admitted to probate in Suffolk County, June 24, 1776. — Eds.

tended operations drop^d, and w^{ch} was made publick. I have it not by me, but the substance that occurs was to fortifie Fort & Bacon Hills, wth the numbers requisite on each place, also the numbers the barracks and places already taken up, &c., w^d contain, &c., &c. Our artificers have been taken off from their barrack building, &c., and straw prohibited, to the great dislike of the army. They cannot do wthout straw. Fluxes or contagious distempers possibly may be the consequence; and *consideratis considerandis*, w^d it not be best to have the soldiers all together if we could, w^{ch} w^d prevent innumerable disturbances, &c., &c. The advice of the Congress herein would be very gratefully rec^d, as I think one of our sister Colonies first put us upon the scent. Perhaps they might not think of all our difficulties. We are a poor, distress^d, garison^d town. The man of war in y^e ferry way will not suffer provisions to pass the ferry, as you have undoubtedly heard. Mr Hanock [Hancock?] has had an interview with his Excell^{cy}, and in a day or two we expect a conference with him. Mr Professor Winthrop, Bowdoin, Warren, &c., have been mention^d; tis hop^d great good will come of it, as they are to speak freely, &c., which conference I perceive is not to the disliking of the Governour. Doubtless great defference will be had & paid to anything w^{ch} may pass in Congress, w^{ch} may happen also to be touch'd upon at their intended conference, for it is a datum to stand religiously to every determination of y^e Congress. You are the topick of all conversation; and where a certain great personage who glories in being born a — is pray^d for once, you are 100 times. Under God you are our *Decus et tutamen*. Our eyes are upon you for good. May God direct, prosper, & succeed y^r undertaking. Don't fail writing. The Co^mtee of Safety by me pay their best regards to you. 1040 bush. wheat & 2 bbs. flour from Qubeck is ariv^d. The Rev. Mr Adams of Rox. desires to present his most grateful respects

to you, also Frank Johonnot, Esq. Please to let me know p first opportunity y^e time of y^r return, as we shall wait upon you and dine wth you at Watertown bridge. You will not fail giving of me notice. I want to see you all, but first do y^r work, *then adjourn*. We were greatly dismay'd when the news of the glorious Farmer's being made one of the Congress prov^d abortive; he would have done you great honour, as well as render'd the continent great & signal service. However, y^r omitting of him bro't that text to my mind, Wisdom is not always to the wise. Wait upon him often.

Yours affectionately,

SAM^L SWIFT.

Oct^r 2^d, 74.

Hon. T. Cushing, Esq^r.

P. S. Advise also as to y^e straw, w^{ch} yy are now in want of. I could sincerely wish y^o w^d write y^e sentiments of the Congress relative to y^e barrack's being made by our carpenters, so should y^e soldiers keep together, &^{ca} & not distract y^e town, or whether, as y^s is to be a garrison^d town, whether it w^d not be deem^d an acquiescence.

JOHN WENTWORTH TO T. W. WALDRON.

PORTSMOUTH, October 25th, 1774.

MY DEAR SIR,—One hour and half after you very kindly saw me embark, I found all my family well and rejoic'd to see me. As to the bustle of politics, as follows. Information came to M^{rs} W. that insult was intended ag^t poor Parson Peters.* She very wisely sent

* Rev. Samuel A. Peters, D. D., born in Hebron, Ct., Dec. 12, 1735, graduated at Yale College in 1757, and died in New York, April 19, 1826. He made himself very obnoxious to the people of Connecticut by his zealous support of the Ministry in the dispute with the Colonies; but he is now best known as the author of "A General History of Connecticut," in which he printed for the first time the spurious "Blue Laws" of that Colony. (See Trumbull's "True and False Blue Laws of Connecticut.") — Eds.

him off, conducted by Thomas Coach, to the Castle, where he has since remain'd quiet, and this day sails for London. He dined with me on Sunday. I excus'd the people here, told him on their second tho'ts he was safe. He is highly pleased with N. Hampshire, and probably will report kindly thereof. The story of his calamities is most astonishing, and in a Xtian country equally deplorable. I have advised him to be moderate on his arrival in England, even toward those who have most cruelly treated him. Since my return here two ships are arriv'd from London; my dispatches are perfectly to my wish. They fully prove the high necessity both to me and to this Province that the carpenters shou'd have been sent.* I rejoice that even the warmest in opposition will thank ev'ry poor man that is gone there. Be assured, my friend, it is a happy circumstance to the Province; it will help a reconciliation, infinitely promote it! Small circumstances often produce great events, or at least lead to them. The K. has highly approv'd my conduct; a confidential power has depicted L——s to him, so that trouble ceaseth. When these vessels sail'd, the public tho't all was peace in America. But those who were about the candle were better inform'd. The Scarboro', saild 5th Sep^t from Boston, will carry alarming news. The premier is firm. All the merchants of London are said to be with him; if so, vigorous & powerful measures will ensue. I beleive Lord Buckinghamshire may soon succeed Lord D., or else Lord G. Sackville. The former is ev'ry way strong in my interest. The latter I am upon even ground with; but my friends are establishing me in his mind, lest he shou'd come in. My letters wou'd raise my expectations, if prudence in such a changeable world permitted me to let them operate. The transports are

* Governor Wentworth had undertaken to hire carpenters to go to Boston to build barracks for the British troops, which gave great offence to the people of Portsmouth. (See Belknap's History of New Hampshire, vol. ii. pp. 374, 375.)—Eds.

arriv'd from New York. No other news. Our foolish Comm^{ee}, or some of them, condescended to unship 3 barrels pines and oranges, sent a present to M^{rs} Gage from the W. Indies. I have them at my house, and shall be sent him safely. Such follys dishonor a country. They greive me, of course, because I love the country.

I have bo't of M^r Sproule, who purchas'd Torey's lot in W'boro', the stream or river which runs thro' said lot. Cap^t Dudley & many others tell me it is convenient for a saw and grist mill, and can *never* want water, winter or summer. I shall be much oblig'd you wou'd send Cap^t Allen to examine it with M^r Wingate, and accompanied by any other skillful person you can recommend. If they approve & advise thereto, I propose to remove my mills on to that stream and erect a good bolting mill, also a mill for English corn with French burr-stones, and immediately to hire eight or ten good carpenters for the work, while the water is low. The new mills we can frame & raise so as to finish them in the spring, if time shou'd fail us this fall. I wish you'd calculate how much this matter will cost, that I may prepare the cash before a stroke is struck. Planks for the dams may be had at D^r Cutter's mill. I shall wish to have them the best built possible to be done, — even most curiously done. I am certain money sav'd in such affairs, if they are slightly done, is a perpetual loss.

This day I've given Peter Nepreau a lot on the Pig-wacket road. He is a French Protestant refugee, has some cash, & a very good character. I've assisted him as I did the Highlanders. He will be on his march to-morrow. I wish he cou'd speak English; his wife can a little. Around my plantation will be people of all nations. Their arts & industry may be a good example, and lead to improvement of our country.

The inclosed pamphlet M^{rs} W. wou'd have sent you, but Col^o A., who had it to read, had lent it to his friend

Parson Stevens. Now it is yours. M^r Finlay, the Post-master General, who arriv'd here from Canada thro' Dover last week, says the Canadians are happy in the Bill, & the English not displeas'd. Not an idea exists there of recruiting troops, altho' General Carleton was arriv'd. The British regiments were embarking for Boston. The post road will be immediately establish'd thro' Wolfboro' to Canada. It will be exceedingly beneficial to our county.

I am in haste, and quite dark, but ever, my dear Sir,
Your really sincere friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

Hon^{ble} Thomas W. Waldron, Esq.

EBENEZER TURELL TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

*To the Rev^d M^r Jeremy Belknap, Pastor of the Chh. in Dover, These.
To be left with the Rev^d Doctor Haven of Portsmouth.*

Nov^r —, 1774.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — In answer to your favor of October 17th. When I settled att Medford in the year 1724, Governour Usher was living in his seat near Medford, & dy'd there of age and a fever about the 5th of September, 1726, aged about 78. He was carried to Boston to be buried from his house in King Street. I was several times to visit him before and in his last sickness. He was very deaf, & therefore it was difficult to converse with him. He was born in Boston, and was a member of the First Chh. of Christ in Boston, and afterwards was dismissd from *that* & recommended to the Chh. of Medford before my time. He has a son living older than I am, now a minister of the Chh. of England in Bristol, Rhode Island, who is able to answer all your questions relative to his family.

* Rev. Ebenezer Turell was born in Boston, Feb. 5, 1702, graduated at Harvard College in 1721, settled as minister of the church in Medford in 1724, and died there Dec. 8, 1778. — Eds.

As to his political character & transactions, the records of this Province & New Hampshire will shew them. He was (as I have heard) Treasurer here and Governur there.

He first married (as I have been informed) a daughter of — Legett, Esq^r, by whom he had a daughter who married — Jeffiers, Esq^r, who has a son now living, John Jeffris, Esq^r, in Boston, who knows everything about him. And one of your principal men, — Jaffry, Esq^r, is a great grandson of his (if I mistake not) He afterward married a daughter of your Governour Allen, by whom he had sons & daughters (the minister before mentioned is one). And one of his daughters (by her) is a poor widow now living in Medford.

This is y^e best account I can give att present, & am

Yours affectionately,

E. TURELL.

To the Rev^d Jeremy Belknap.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

Rev^d M^r Jeremiah Belknap, Dover.

BOSTON, Nov. 8, 1774.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — I received your short epistle, & have returned the books I engag'd to lend you. My letter was wrote in a great hurry on hearing of an opportunity to send to Dover a few days before. The short space allotted to me was not sufficient to write another,

* Rev. John Eliot, D. D., (born in Boston, May 31, 1754, died there Feb. 14, 1813,) was one of the original members of the Historical Society, and a man of great learning and ability. (See Memoir by Rev. Dr. McKean, in 2 Collections, vol. I. pp. 211-248.) It is proper to add, that, of all Dr. Belknap's correspondents, Dr. Eliot was the least careful to guard against slips of the pen; and one is inclined to think that he never read over a familiar letter after he had written it. Words and parts of words are constantly omitted, evidently from haste and carelessness. As a young man he had a fancy for writing his name "Elliott," instead of "Eliot," as his father did, and as he himself wrote it after a short time. The most amusing instance of this whim is in the signature to the following letter (*post*, p. 63), where the name was first written "Eliott," and afterward changed to "Elliott," as there shown. — Eds.

& as that contain'd a short account of my journey home-wards, I flattered myself it would be better than nothing. You will conceive the pleasantness of my ride, tho' perhaps wish it had been more agreeable.

Our affairs are not so desperate as you thought they were in the letter to your father. That they won't be henceforth I pretend not to say. The total stagnation of commerce throughout America will be an inlet to the greatest scenes of distress. Things can't last always in this state. I wish prudent men could compromise matters so as to secure the honour of the Crown together with the liberties of the subject. The Governor sent a number of proposals to y^e town meeting which shew a spirit of benevolence towards the people of town, but, whatever y^e reasons were, our high folks were hardly satisfied with them. The soldiers are kept in very good order. Now & then a quarrel breaks out, which is to be expected in y^e present state of things. I wish a worse scene may not be near.

General Molineux is dead. Some are glad & some are sorry. *Nil nisi bonum de mortuis*. It's possible he may have been actuated by noble principles.

I am much oblig'd to you for endeavouring to procure a school for me. I think something of resigning my connections at college, & if there is a vacancy in your Province I should prefer it to "wielding burch" in these parts. I want very much to be absent from the confusion that is to be found among us, being heartily tired of the continual disputes & jars caused by y^e present agitation of affairs.

If you have settled anything about a school, I should be glad you'd inform me by the first opportunity. There are several that would engage me, but they are hardly far enough from Boston, tho' I believe I shall take up with one on condition you have no vacancy near you. Write by the next post; very like I shall be at Boston.

My love to Ruthy & the children.* Respects to enquiring friends.

Your oblig'd servant,

JOHN ELLIOTT.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

BOSTON, Novem^r 18, 1774.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — The affair of Mr. F. is a matter of too much jocosity to make a serious business of it. I dont suppose my father will resent it. He might perhaps have twitted him of his affectation to be of extensive knowledge.

I suppose you have received my packet which I sent to Portsmouth. There has nothing new turned up in public affairs since I wrote that account, except a rumour that the Parliament is dissolved. Whether it is true I'm not able to say. D^r Cooper in his sermon at the lecture today, among other things, mentioned that he was well inform'd the minds of people were more favourable towards us on the other side the Atlantic. It is generally supposed he has received a letter from D^r Franklin. But should the Parliament be dissolved? what advantage will accrue to us? It is rather a ministerial machination to distress us. A new Parliament may be assembled, fangled by Mansfield and the crew of my Lord North, before people have weigh'd well the important concerns of the nation, before they hear the proceedings of the Congress, & have time to reflect on the miserable condition of poor America. What fate awaits that nation, the people sufficiently corrupted, being governed by a more corrupt Ministry, where venality & bribery take the place of honest integrity! where governors would deprive their subjects of the common rights of humanity!

* Mrs. Belknap was a cousin of the writer, and he seems to have been warmly attached to her, as well as to her husband. — Eds.

Heaven protect us in these parts of the earth from the equally dang'rous extremes of a blind submission to the lawless power of the tools of state, or the greater tyranny of factious demagogues.

President Langdon now sits in the academical chair.* To give you my opinion of this gentleman *sub rosa*, I think him a compages of good sense, much learning, more arrogance, & no less conceit. His first setting out was beginning his expositions on Romans, detaining us an hour & half in the Chapel to hear them. The next was abolishing Sunday evening singing, to give more time for his harangue. I expect the next will be ordering the Bachelors to dispute, which will soon bring him & us by the ears.

I am much oblig'd to you for the pleasure you express in holding a correspondence with me. It shall be my earnest endeavour to find matter for your entertainment. It is your part to supply litterary anecdotes. Anything of a scientific or general nature coming from you will afford me edification.

My love to Ruthy & enquiring friends. I wrote to desire you to send by the post whether you had obtained a school. I would save you that trouble, concluding to spend the winter at Boston.

My parent, respects.

Every opportunity to send, improve, & expect punctual return from your obedient servant,

JOHN ELIOTT.

P. S. Nov. 19. The Parliament is certainly dissolved. I have seen Dr Cooper, & he tells me he has seen the proclamation.

* Rev. Samuel Langdon, D. D., became President of the College, Oct. 14, 1774. — Eds.

JOHN WENTWORTH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

PORTSMOUTH, 18th November, 1774.

MY DEAR AND REVEREND SIR, — I herewith return your MSS. chapter of the History of New Hampshire, which has afforded me great pleasure. Your care in this composition disappoints the ambition of critical examination, and gratifys the more pleasing candour of friendship. Both combine in justifying my declaration, that I cannot suggest an amendment.

In the first week of Oct^r last, Nicholas Austin (the man whom some modern patriots at Rochester tyrannically insulted and abused for the sake of Liberty) was upon the White Hills. He ascended the second in height & magnitude, which he describes exactly as Cap^t Neal did. But discovering a large mountain E. N. E. from this he travelled about eight miles to the bottom. Ascending to the top or apex, he found it far exceeded all others in the horizon, computing it to be two miles higher than the adjacent country. From the easterly side about $\frac{2}{3}$ rd^s up issued three small streams, which pursued different courses down the hill. The summit is a bare, gray rock of about two acres, without either earth or water. In its fissures grow common whortleberry shrubs, also a shrub somewhat similar, bearing a berry of a sort he had never before seen. From such situations he drew out “very fine garden parsnips,” as he called them, which from his description I conclude are rather a species of the hyoscyamus, and caution’d him against using the produce of the seed that he gathered from them, and intends to sow in his garden. There was no other vegetation effected toward the height of the mountain, nor any animals except hares observed. He clearly discerned the Atlantic Ocean and all the settlements from Casco Bay westward to the heights of land between Con^t River and the Lakes St. George and Champlain and St. Francis River. From

these circumstances I am inclin'd to think Cap^t Neal was mistaken in supposing he had explored the highest mountain. Besides the unsuspected credibility of M^r Austin, my own observations in the year 1772, when my curiosity led me on to the second, which I suppose Neal's mountain, perfectly agree with his relation. I have enter'd minutely into this detail to furnish materials only for a note in that page, if you think one necessary.

In expectation that some anecdote or amusement may arise from the copy of a case I've lately officially agitated, I have put it under cover with this letter. It is all the copy remaining, and shall wish its early return, after y^r perusal.

Your kinsman, M^r Elliot,* contributed much to the pleasure of my retreat from the disquieted scenes of public duty during his stay with me at W. House, which his well instructed mind and amiable deportment at his departure made me feel was but too short.

I wou'd not infest you with a syllable on politics, but that I am convinc'd it will give satisfaction to your benevolent heart to hear that it is probable, at least it is my opinion, the clouds of distraction begin to disperse, and that there is some prospect of a civil creation soon emerging out of the present chaotic jumble of discordant political elements. That it may speedily rest upon its center and assume the fair form of Peace, Charity, universal safety, and wisest subordination, must be the anxious desire of all that cordially wish prosperity to America, in which number is surely included, as I verily beleive, both yourself and your sincere friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

Reverend M^r Belknap.

* John Eliot. See letter from John Eliot to Jeremy Belknap, *post*, p. 75. — Eds.

JOHN WENTWORTH TO THOMAS W. WALDRON.

PORTSMOUTH, 26th November, 1774.

WHATEVER you think will be best after Cap^t Allen has considered the jobb, I shall certainly embrace. The reason I am desirous to have it done this fall, if it cou'd be, is that our principal work may be expected in the spring, and that our summer business may not be interrupted.* As to my eye on them, it is only my hope that happier times may put it in my power to retreat into those shades the next season. But this is so uncertain that I dare not set much upon it.

Popular torrents cannot safely be check't, without irresistible power ; yet it sometimes changes it[s] course and overwhelms the hand that opened the sluices. I am sorry that both your & my endeavors shou'd be so unsuccessful. Possibly M^r L. may find that an olive branch shou'd ever be preferd.† Altho' I do not propose to do any thing more than may be necessary for my own safety, yet others may not be so reserved. I have sometimes tho't vindictive men consider themselves as invulnerable. How much grounds there can be for such an attribute to mortality let experience say ! Achilles had a tender heel. Argus's thousand eyes were put to sleep. And the slippery Ligurian in vain practiced his native arts, which the poet, conveying an elegant sentiment of the real inefficacy of craft, says was in all its serpentine glory subdued by a female warrior, not deigning to assign the more dignified sex to such atchievement. When a man devotes ev'ry thing to his own interest, and is incautious eno' to discover it to all, and inflict it on many, his art & a fortunate concurrence of circumstances may for a time procure him companions for an opposition, but never a solid attached party. Such a character wants the cement

* See Governor Wentworth's letter, Oct. 25, 1774, *ante*, p. 58. — Eds.† The reference is probably to Peter Livius. See *ante*, pp. 44, 45, note. — Eds.

necessary to bind together, and by frequent irritations of the natural feelings must produce such discordant, repellent principles as are incompatible with & destructive of that confidence essential to social combinations.

It is not unlikely that the Assemblys or the Continent have some instructions from the great Congress, among w^h I expect to find an adoption of all the measures entered on by the former. Had the separate colony representation been earlier admissible, it wou'd have prevented an union. Each wou'd have acted to its own interest, and of course afforded some contrariant claims. How far the difficulty can be remedied by a representation at this day is more easily to be seen than desired by those who mean to find anything but unanimity.

Whenever the period is arrived that the Colonies can expect to be invited to send an agent to negotiate their more than important concerns at the Court of Gr. Br., it will be truly glorious to the elected if happily they can be useful in obliterating those disquietudes which will shake the political elements of both countries into confusion and certain ruin, unless some American constitution is fixed.

My kindest thanks are due for your designation to this superior object, — an object so desireable in ev'ry view of policy and universal philanthropy that its completion must ennoble the instruments in the brightest beams of their country's unalterable love, — a glory which ought to dazzle the eyes of ev'ry man that really loves both countrys so much as to render him unconscious of the imminent dangers that hang around the honorable precipice he must tread.

You will kindly return me the inclosed; it may possibly explain matters which I intend to defer considering, or rather agitating, untill further advices from the same region shall render my path somewhat straiter.

I have detain'd your man in hopes the post wou'd arrive, but am disappointed. I shall therefore dispatch

him. The last ships have bro't no news, tho' many return'd captains of ships. It is probable Wilkes will come in for Middlesex; if many such changes in the new P. the adm^s of 1766 will grow again into power. The Scarborough' is said to be arriv'd, but no accounts what effect her dispatches had. Wherefore I think her arrival to be uncertain.

I am obliged in your preference of the mare, which I will consider of, as she will not be out of your or my hands.

I am, my dear Sir,

Your very sincere friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

Hon^{ble} Tho^s W. Waldron, Esq.

JOHN WENTWORTH TO THOMAS W. WALDRON.

PORTSMOUTH, 9th December, 1774.

SIR, — I beg leave to introduce to you my worthy friend Robert Temple, Esq.,* who is solliciting of Col^o Baker and M^r Henderson to liberate his brother, W^m Temple, Esq., from their demand, as has been done by his creditors in England, and in this place, with a view to his beginning the world anew. If this can be accomplish'd, I beleive there is a probability M^r Temple may again recover, and be able to make some compensation to his creditors, which I have not the least doubt but he is honorably disposed to do. Therefore I consider a compliance to be not only very prudent, but also very charitable, and affords some prospect of recovering a debt that otherwise in its nature must be hopeless. Permit me, therefore, to intreat your influence and interest with these gentlemen, to whom I shall consider myself kindly oblig'd in their

* Robert Temple, "of Ten Hills, near Charlestown, New England," was a Loyalist, and a brother of Sir John Temple, who married a daughter of Governor Bowdoin. (See Sabine's *American Loyalists*, vol. ii. pp. 349, 350.) — Eds.

friendly compliance. Be assured, Sir, that you'll find the bearer a gentleman of strict honour & virtue, & that, notwithstanding the fraternal interest he naturally has in the success of this business, you may depend on it he will be open, candid, generous, and upright; and that you may safely rely on whatever he says in this or any other matter, and that whatever you may kindly aid herein shall be gratefully acknowledged as a favor done most essentially to

Your friend and most humble serv^t,

J. WENTWORTH.

Hon^{ble} Tho^s W. Waldron, Esq.

JOHN WENTWORTH TO THOMAS W. WALDRON.

PORTSMOUTH, 9th Dec^r, 1774.

DEAR SIR, — I wrote you by Mr Temple to-day. The inclosed letter will give you the news. Probably four reg^{ts} more are on our coasts or arriv'd at Boston, with more ships. I am in expectation of a man-of-war in this port next Sunday. It is said the American commerce is to be interdicted. God grant a pacific issue to these difficultys. I am exceedingly obliged in your letter by D^r Haven.

The popular leaders in Boston say they have favorable advices from London. But it is very probable the administration are stronger in P. now than in the last. The minority, it is said, complain highly that the Americans have by their violence ruin'd their cause.

I hear a royal camp is to be form'd at Concord, under General Haldimand. The Mass^a Congress have adjourn'd to Worcester. This is all I can yet collect. I am in great haste, but ever

Your faithful friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

Thomas W. Waldron, Esq.

JOHN WENTWORTH TO THOMAS W. WALDRON.

PORTSMOUTH, 30th December, 1774.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have determin'd the bearer shall not complete the third I have stop'd some time, with intentions to write you a line, but disappointed by other intervening urgencys. Your letter with the books came safe to hand.

The late confusions give me great pain indeed, not for myself, but for a people whom I love equally, such a precipitate movement upon an (now) known false rumour involving very deploable consequences. I know not what to say in instigation of the insult on the British flag, hall'd down with ignominy in N. H.; it greives me to my soul, thus driven from my favorite stronghold of favorable representations by the mad intemperance of a few indiscreet zealots, who seldom want followers in folly. The inclosed copy is submitted to your amendment & early advice, whither any w^d be eligible.

We have two ships at the Castle, which will quietly consume some beef, and, if no violences attempted, in the spring proceed on their cruising service.

I have great beleif that America will be great and imperial. But the present disorders denote, or rather call down, an important check in their peace^l (& so surest) career to magnitude. A treaty of commerce is concluded to admit Britain to a free trade in Russia & all its conquests. This will more than compensate an American non import^a, w^h therefore will only wound themselves. This I suppose was Lord M——d's late business to Paris. All accounts agree that America must be seriously considered and establish'd in connection to Britain. Coercion seems to be the present determination. Whither Parliament will support and nerve it with supplies is to me uncertain.

The leaders of opposition in Boston publicly disclaim & disapprove the manœuvre here. In Rh. Island they are still more sick, and it is very confidently said the Assembly will reinstate their fort.

Inclosed is M^r Belknap's chapter II^d, which pleases me greatly. Do give it to that good man with my best regards.

The two pamphlets herewith are just sent me. I have scarce read them. The one has good sense; the other wit. But perfection is not sublunary.

I wish to know when Esq^r Plummer returns from Wolfboro'. He is to bring some hides for M^r Clarkson, to be lodg'd in your stores. I have two hhds. rum and two of molos. to send up when the craft comes for the hides. I shall want your aid in taking them to your house from the landing. I shall not delay sending stores to W. House, notwithstanding all the menaces. If it is destroy'd, let all go together.

M^{rs} Wentworth has been much frightened, and in great pain therefrom. She in vain summon'd all her fortitude. The starting tears often contradicted my advice, & made me fly from their powerful influence on my mind, which ought in such times to have no feelings of its own, and I think had not very many, except those tears. I wish to act with firmness, inflexible, equally distant from temerity and timidity. The best regards of this family attend you and yours. I am in daily hope of another young friend to be added to us and you, which renders us some sollicitude, 'till happily perfected to, my dear Sir,

Your affec^t friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

Hon^{ble} T. W. Waldron, Esq.

JOHN WENTWORTH TO T. W. WALDRON.

PORTSMOUTH, 20th Jan^y, 1775, 3 P. M.

MY DEAR SIR, — An half hour since M^{rs} Wentworth was deliver'd of a sturdy, healthy boy after 17 hours, the severest natural labor D^r Hall Jackson remembers.* However, thanks be to God, she is now safely in bed, and, the D^r says, without any unpromising circumstances. That affection which causes this to be a joyful event prompts me to present its object to your kindest good wishes, and to add him into that friendship which his parents most cordially esteem among their choicest acquirements. M^{rs} Wentworth, almost exhausted, permits my absence thus to bespeak good for her son, and desires her best regards to you and M^{rs} Waldron.

You'l see a parag'hp of news in the paper, s^d to be from Gov^r H. I fancy it will terminate in the tea duty, as I have sometimes told you heretofore. General G. writes me, 18th ins^t P. M., that the phrenzy evidently cools in his Province very fast indeed, that they now see their danger, & that they've been duped into many indiscretions. At N. York it is expected their Assembly will protest against the Continen. Congress, — some of their secret manœuvres having given great offence & alarm upon their discovery. We have no other news. The mare is safe in my stable, & pleases me exceedingly.

I am, most sincerely, my dear Sir,

Your faithful and obliged friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

Hon^{ble} Tho^s Westbrook Waldron, Esq.

* Charles Mary Wentworth (second Baronet) was educated in England, where he spent the greater part of his life. He died, unmarried, April 10, 1844. (See Wentworth Genealogy, vol. i. pp. 550, 551.) — Eds.

JOHN WENTWORTH TO T. W. WALDRON.

PORTSM^o, 27th Jan^y, 1775.

MY DEAR SIR, — Friend Austin deliver'd the packet of books very safe last evning.

I hear the proceedings at Exeter are very warm and exceedingly irregular; insomuch that some members have drawn of, and declare it is by no means a free Assembly.* Judge W. attempted to speak on the moderate side, but was so rudely treated that he cou'd not be heard, & many *members* vociferated, "A Tory within the bar. It is Tory nonsense, we've had eno' of it." The Durham *hero* mov'd for a com^{tee} to prepare a petition to the Gov^r for an Assembly, & that he w^d not dissolve it, whatever proceedings they may or might pursue. This was oppos'd by Judge W., Col^l Hale, & M^r Wingate of Hampton, (Contra) supported by J. Langdon, Folsom, Bordman, *cum multis aliis*. The opposition contended that they were delegated for particular express purposes, & cou'd not exceed them. Sullivan replied, that their whole meeting was unlawful, and therefore might do one thing as well as another. They were the people, & their powers unlimited; that the Continental Congress was unlawful, yet they acted; thus cutting up avowedly and censuring all the great agitations, and declaring those meetings riotous assemblies amenable to law. Yet from this destruction of premises to attempt an extension of a specific limitation into an uncontrouled dictatorial power, however absurd & dangerous the precedent, a majority were ready to sacrifice their reason & constituents to their fears & to their popularity. I think there will be no restitution. Ev'ry moderate man is silenced. Paul Revere went express

* The Second Provincial Congress of New Hampshire met at Exeter, Jan. 25, 1775. (See New Hampshire Provincial Papers, vol. vii. p. 442.) Its President, Hon. John Wentworth of Somersworth, must not be confounded with his kinsman, the Governor. — Eds.

thither yesterday noon. It portends a storm rather than peace. The com^{tee} at Boston give out that they 've wrote to the people at Marshfeild "not to molest the troops." This looks ominous against a fighting stomach. I have advices from Boston yesterday which hurry my plans unexpectedly. I wish I dare commit to paper. I *must* move the dismission to-day. Time may yet be gain'd by the Council, who will beg a few days to consider, as they usually do on important matters; secrecy will then be enjoined. I wish the partys w^d leave ground for an amnesty; but they strive to augment the reverse. Peace, my dear friend, has by unwise men been driven out. They shut the door against it[s] return. God forgive them. They know not what they do. Many of them, I verily beleive, are innocently wicked. It seems contradictory, but madness can no otherwise be express'd. Our hemisphere threatens an hurricane. I've in vain strove almost to death to prevent it. If I can bring out of it at last safety to my country & honor to our sovereign, my labors will be joyful, and I yet think I shall. My heart is devoted to it. You know its sincerity, & that you & yours are dear to

J. WENTWORTH.

Hon^{ble} Tho^s W. Waldron, Esq.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

BOSTON, Jan^y 30th, 1775.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — Our cousin acquaints me that he has received a letter from you wherein you make great complaint of my negligence in writing to you. I think it expedient, therefore, to introduce this letter with some apology, lest I should lose that favorable esteem & regard which appears from the agreeable epistles I have received from you to possess your mind & is matter of much pleasing reflection to me.

Upon the receipt of your last, I immediately sat down to answer it, collecting all the news which was then stirring, & was impatient for an opportunity to send it. This was some time before vacancy. I still pleas'd myself with the expectation of sending it by Evans; but after ransacking College several times, I was unable to find him or hear anything of him. The matter in it being by this time stale, I think it best to begin entirely new. I trust your ingenuity will lead you to think me in some measure excuseable, & that you'll impute my negligence to some other cause than want of affection.

I am much oblig'd to you for your kind wishes for my welfare, & think myself highly honor'd by the notice your worthy friend express'd of me in his letter to you. Tho sensible of the honor done me by so excellent a person, in whom are united the erudition of the scholar & the polite accomplishments of the gentleman, I hope it will be a means of exciting emulation rather than of feeding my vanity.*

It gives me pleasure that my little donation meets with acceptance, & I'm quite proud that my taste agrees so exactly with the lady's you mention. The method of promoting social libraries I'm fond of, & could heartily wish that persons of ability had my inclination to contribute to the more general establishment of them. It would be a means of diffusing knowledge thro' all ranks of people, of dissipating the ignorance & darkness that obscure the human mind, & better preparing men for the reception of the truth.†

Future ages will admire & speak in rapture of the beneficence which distinguish'[d] the late Mr Hollis.‡ May there be found many equally friends to literature.

* The reference is to Governor Wentworth. See *ante*, p. 65.—Eps.

† Mr. Belknap was much interested in the maintenance of a social library at Dover. See letter of Joseph Allen, Jr., Jan. 14, 1794, *post*, p. 566.—Eds.

‡ The third Thomas Hollis, who died in 1774, and who had given much to the College

I reckon you a very good politician, gliding between the shoals of Scylla & Carybdis. The vessel toss'd by the present storm needs an able pilot at helm to keep it from sinking in the political ocean. Was it not by the prudence of in[di]viduals we should be in more danger. Querulous & quarrelsome men, both of the inhabitants & soldiery, might otherwise bring things to a rupture. We have had several instances of this since I have been in Boston this vacancy. Last Friday sevensnight an affray happened between the watchmen & a number of officers which might have been of serious consequences. Betwixt ten & eleven in the evening an officer in liquor desired the watch to go home with him. A young gentleman of the town, seeing him with two men & thinking him abus'd, went to the British Coffee House, & acquainted the officers collected there that one of their companions was involuntarily led away & made prisoner by the watch. They rushed out, attacked the watchmen with drawn swords, & held the battle till orders were received from the Governor to disperse. They were examined in the Court House before Justice Quincey, & are bound over for their appearance. The next day there was a quarrel in the Market, but ended without bloodshed. His Excellency seems dispos'd to do everything in his power to prevent mischief & satisfy the people, & *me judice*, the times being considered, is a very good Governor.*

We have the pleasure of a great number of marines for our neighbours, which pass daily by our door, tho' never disturb us; several were buried last week. According to the course of mortality, many will fall off from so large a body as the soldiers make in this town; but I fancy the numbers are greatly increas'd before the

Library. Three generations of the Hollis family were among the principal } benefactors of
the College. (See Quincy's History of Harvard University, vol. ii. pp. 525, 526.) — Eds.

* For a minute account of this affair, see the Boston Gazette for Jan. 30, 1775. — Eds.

news arrives at Dover, to judge from the reports of my friends at some distance from Boston.

Some of their funerals are worth seeing. The mournful dirge, joined to the chaunting of some select musicians, gives the exhibition an air of solemnity.*

There is one thing I would not fail to mention, as I think it a capital affair, & well worthy traditionary preservation.

You may remember there is a declivity from the lane opposite School Street, which in the winter season the boys make use of as a coasting-place. Here not long since a number of boys were assembled for the purpose aforesaid. A servant of General Haldiman's (whose stables were in that lane), being displeas'd by the slippery walking their amusement occasioned, maugre their pleadings & threatnings, scattered ashes over the place, & spoiled their fun. With the true spirit of the sons of Boston, they chose a committee to wait upon the General to remonstrate against the proceedings, & complain of the maltreatment they had received from his servant. When the servant came to the door, he asked their business; they replied it was with the General. The servant was ordered to wait upon them into the parlour. The chairman informed the General that they were a committee from the boys, sent to make complaint of the invasion of their rights made by one of his servants; that he had spoiled their sport by tossing a quantity of ashes over a spot of ground which they & their fathers before them had taken possession of for a coasting-place. The General at first did not understand what they meant by the term *coasting*. When informed of its meaning, he called all his servants, and, being told which was the

* "By the Account kept of the Burials in this Town," says the Boston Gazette for Jan. 30, 1775, "it appears that there have been buried from the several Regiments, from the 10th of July, 1774, to the 27th of January, 1775, 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, and 123 Men, Women, and Children, besides several Seamen from the Men of War & Transports."
— Eds.

offender, ordered him to go & throw water on the place sufficient to rectify the damage caus'd by the ashes. He treated the committee with a glass of wine, & they took their leave.

General Haldiman in great good humour told the story at General Gage's table, which afforded the company great diversion. The Governor observed that they had only caught the spirit of the times, & that what was bred in the bone would creep out in the flesh.

I hope our Præses will be a useful man. He is rather more popular than he was.

My health is much the same as when I left Dover. I intend to taste the salubrious air of your town again before a great while, having received so much benefit from my former visit.

I have never been able to see M^r Fisher, tho' I have been twice or thrice to his house. The first time I was at Salem he was out of town. I left a billet at his house, begging he would acquaint me when he should be at leisure, but received no answer to it. If I can get an opportunity to Salem after the vacation I'll make him another visit.

I have not been able to get one of M^r* Dickinson's pamphlet.* Cox & Berry expect some soon from Philadelphia. When they come I'll procure one. I send you a little pamphlet wrote by a young gentleman in the army, which asks your acceptance.† The controversy about the Congress is like to be voluminous.

* The pamphlet referred to was probably "An Essay on the Constitutional Power of Great Britain over the Colonies in America," which was published in the latter part of the preceding year. — Eds.

† "The Strictures on the Friendly Address examined, and a Refutation of its Principles attempted. Addressed to the People of America." The Library of the Historical Society contains two copies of this pamphlet, one a presentation copy from the author to Dr. Eliot; the other (probably the copy here referred to) given by Dr. Belknap on the organization of the Society. The author was Lieutenant Henry Barry of the 52d Regiment. He served for several years in America, and afterward distinguished himself in India. He left the army previous to the breaking out of the French Revolution, and died at Bath, Nov. 2, 1823, aged about seventy-three. (See Rose's Biographical Dictionary, vol. iii. p. 248.) — Eds.

The oration of Mr Wheelock is rather, in my opinion, a juvenile performance, tho' in some respects pretty.*

My father desired me to ask you who wrote that letter from Durham. The abilities of these gentlemen (the Committee) seem somewhat doubted this way.

You may remember I mentioned to you something concerning small pieces of money. My father has such a piece (the penny) as you produced. It was a New England penny he was desirous to obtain. If you will dispose of some of your pieces to me, I will satisfy you in a way that will either suit you or Cousin Ruthy.

Our love to Ruthy & the children. My respects to Cap^t Waldron & enquiring friends. I expected Mr Cooper would have call'd to see me when he was in town.

Your affectionate friend & servant,

JOHN ELLIOTT.

P. S. I hope you will be able to read this letter.

JOHN WENTWORTH TO T. W. WALDRON.

PORTSMOUTH, Febr^y 8th, 1775.

MY DEAR SIR, — Cap^t Dame safely bro't me your favor yesterday, and just in time to enable me conveniently to gain further respite concerning the solicited cadet company. Cap^t W.'s absence made it necessary to defer any final answer untill I cou'd see him, which the other two tho't was but decent toward their proposed commander.

At the same time Major Evans applied, I recommended him to be Col^o Boyd's Lieut^t and wait his return. Probably the Col^o is already contented with his title, & nothing more will be done.

* The reference is probably to "An Essay on the Beauties and Excellencies of Painting, Music, and Poetry, pronounced at the Anniversary Commencement at Dartmouth College, A. D. 1774. By John Wheelock, A. M., Tutor of said College. Published at the Desire of the Audience." — EDS.

There is no doubt S. has his spies, & none can be more ready for the office than H. J——n; * neither can there be one more deceptive or less to be relied on. He skillfully attended the perilous hour lately in this house, but does not visit here. Even at that time, when retir'd from his professional call, he prefer'd the jolly, laughing servants' hall to the master's parlour, in which I quietly acquiesced. Here his *unmeaning* invention was triumphantly exercis'd. Obstetric anecdotes, surgery, military instruction, and political phantoms by turns entertain'd the circle; and the next day his own storys he retail'd on the parade as news from the Province House. The evacuations of this mental dysentery the Major can have no profit in, but will tend to mislead him further. His expectations of dismissal arise from his own consciousness, I am persuaded. The Council advised thereto in ev'ry instance, but left me to judge the proper time. I requir'd secrecy on their oaths. In this point it rests untill after 23rd inst.^t

It is certain letters are rece'd from London at Boston, N. York, & Philadelphia, declaring that American violences have proceeded to indefensible lengths, & have overthrown their zealous friends, who cannot conscientiously act in their defence or attempt their justification. The agent of N. York, it is confidently said, & I think from good authority, has wrote his constituents that they must not expect anything of him untill they retreat. Cap^t Dame will have the papers by the post. Inclosed is one I accidentally took up last night which contains a sensible peice on Amer. matters. The Declaratory Act

* Dr. Hall Jackson was a distinguished physician and surgeon in Portsmouth, N. H., where he died Sept. 23, 1797, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. "His sprightly talents, lively imagination, and social habits rendered him an agreeable companion; facetious and pleasant in conversation, his friends enjoyed in his company 'the feast of reason' with the flow of wit; and the several societies of which he was a member found their entertainment greatly heightened by his presence." (See Adams's *Annals of Portsmouth*, pp. 315, 316.) — Eds.

has guarded against the absurdity supposed by the Br. American. If the exercise had been suspended the Act might have contented Parliamentary honor, and the present difficultys never arisen.

I have inclosed some late magazines, &c^a, for entertainment of my friends.

M^{rs} W. grows better ; her son is unwell. We sincerely wish you ev'ry blessing.

I am, with great truth, my dear Sir, your sincere friend,
J. WENTWORTH.

The peice was published, & no writing left with the printer, or ever seen. The *inspectors* of the press being at Exeter all the time.

Hon^{ble} Thomas W. Waldron, Esq.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

To The Rev^d M^r Belknap, Dover.

Boston, Feb. 18, 1775.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — I have just received your kind letter, & am sorry I have not more time allowed me to write. Tho' there is so great an agitation in our political affairs, yet I can't give you a succinct account, & must therefore refer it to some other opportunity. I propose taking a journal of things important as they turn up, which I intend to enclose in my letters to you.

The author of the "Strictures Examined" is a young gentleman of my acquaintance, an officer in the fifty-second, now station'd with us, an ingenuous, calm, worthy man. The enclosed is another production of his, which asks your acceptance.*

* "The Advantages which America derives from her Commerce, Connexion, and Dependence on Britain. Addressed to the People of America." The copies which belonged to Dr. Belknap and Dr. Eliot both have the author's name on the title-page, in the handwriting of Dr. Eliot. — Eds.

I have seen Mr Relly's piece, but never read it.* Mr Murry is a gentleman excelling more in brilliancy of imagination than strength of genius.† Any coins you have duplicates of, I would be glad to be favored with.

I am yours affectionately,

J. ELIOT.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

CAMBRIDGE, Feb^y 28, 1775.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — The leafy scroll you lately received from me I don't consider as an answer to your letter, for the receipt of which the utmost efforts of my poor little capacity will very insufficiently discharge my obligation.‡ Whatever I write arises from affection, and are the effusions of an honest heart, which I'm willing to center in the bosom of friendship. The unguarded familiarity with which I express myself is a mark of intimacy which I should take with very few, knowing your sentiments to be different from the ebullitions of party zeal, which are the principles that guide the most at the present day.

With pleasure I heard of an opportunity to send to Portsmouth, & think my time well spent in writing to my friends in New Hampshire. I suppose there is continual passing between Portsmouth & Dover, tho' should you miss of receiving this in proper season, acquaint me with

* Rev. James Relly was a prominent Universalist preacher in London; and it was through his preaching that Rev. John Murray was converted to the doctrines peculiar to that denomination. (See Eddy's Universalism in America, vol. i. pp. 114-123.) — Eds.

† Rev. John Murray, the founder of Universalism in the United States, was born in Alton, Hampshire, England, Dec. 10, 1741, and came to America in 1770. Here he had a varied experience; but in October, 1793, he was settled over a society in Boston, and he continued its minister until 1809, when he was entirely disabled by paralysis. He died Sept. 3, 1815. (See Drake's Biographical Dictionary; Eddy's Universalism in America.) — Eds.

‡ Mr. Eliot's letter of January 30th, to which he applies the epithet "leafy," covers eight pages. — Eds.

it, & I will improve some other way of conveyance for the future.

The *sub rosa* paragraph afforded me much diversion. Mr A—— character I had heard somewhat in New Hampshire. In a novel of Fielding's (Joseph Andrews) one Parson A. makes a principal personage. The characters are something similar. Mr —— of D—— is much more consistent with Fielding's parson than your neighbour the Bishop of N——, because of his being a man of ingenuity & learning.

The reasons of my asking the question about the political letter, I gave you. Our Mr Lawyer A—— said that M—j—r S—— was not equal to it. My father has no great opinion of the other gentleman. Your answer was quite satisfactory. I intend being acquainted with Mr A—— when I visit your “salubrious regions” again. He has a pretty daughter; that is attraction enough, whatever may be elevations or depressions of the father.

Emulation is a noble passion of the mind; to be distinguished as a man of virtue & lover of mankind is ambition laudable & to be envied, the seeds of which should be nourished till it becomes a vine, overshadowing & *withering* the vices of mankind by its benignant effects, & restoring human nature to pristine excellency. But when ambition's utmost stretch is employed to render one exteriorly conspicuous, tho' perhaps on the ruins of honour & honesty, it should be nip'd in the bud, & the mind in which it is engrafted by continual mortification become sufficiently guided by reason & prudence. I have known many who would not value trampling on the rights of mankind, yet stand first to oppose the encroachments on the rights of a borough. You may easily judge of the person I had in my eye that gave rise to the expressing of this sentiment.

Nothing new has of late turn'd up in the political

world since the prorogation of our Provincial Congress. The most hostile appearance is on both sides. I dread the result or end of these military preparations, & can find comfort only in the reflection that a most beneficent Governor is at the helm of the universe. He can bring order out of confusion, & in His hands I desire to leave all things. To speak a little concerning second causes, I can't imagine which way matters can be compromis'd to the honour of the Crown & the security of our rights. The Congress have drawn a line which will never be submitted to while British blood flows in the veins of Englishmen. Our people will never be contented with less, tho' wading knee deep in maternal blood or deluging the land with our own may be the consequence. Every day the soldiers more or less perambulate the adjacent towns, whether with other views than exercise & airing I pretend not to say. I have conversed with many gentlemen of the army who seem'd much averse to encounter with their fellow subjects, but think the Congress by their late resolves have declared war against them.

I can't but think your Colony is about being involved in the same calamity. It was a wicked scheme proposed in the Congress, & I am very glad it was overuled. How stand matters with Governor Wentworth now? Everything affects me which tends to distress that gentleman. Gratitude obliges me to speak of him in the highest terms of respect. But setting aside my personal obligations, I respect him as a Governor, &, what is more, love him as a man. I feel for him in these times of difficulty & trouble, & frequently recollect an extract from a letter he sent to Cap^t Waldron, when he heard of the massacre that happened at Boston some years ago. "Retired from noise & tumult," says he, "I think myself more happy in my humble situation under Mewse Hill than pomp & grandeur can confer." I won't be sure these are the words, but the sentiment is good & worthy of the most

ingenuous of men. I long, yet dread, to know the effect of his proclamation.

“Sudden transitions in letters are analogous to sudden turns in conversation,” — I will go on therefore to speak of M^r Murray. He has made a great noise in Boston, & most of the libertines of the day attended him. I heard him once. What he said was *small*, but his friends agreed in affirming this was his worst discourse. Some gentlemen of sense have told me he discovered a florid fancy in some of his discourses, tho’ I can’t find he has any seriousness at bottom. M^r Relly is rather on the plan of the late M^r Law & Jacob Beehman. I never read him.

I know of no translation of Charlevoix. I will send it with pleasure if I can procure it.

My love to M^{rs} Belknap & the children & am yours.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

CAMBRIDGE, April 11, 1775.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — Two of your letters are now before me. They have been a very good feast to me, & if possible increase my obligations. I will never complain of the length of your epistles, but shall receive the greater proportion of pleasure as you spread paper with your sentiments.

I communicated to my friend Barry the objections to many parts of his pamphlet *on the advantages of the connection*, &c. The subject, so far as relates to the lumber trade, &c., I am entirely unacquainted with, & suppose you must know more of the trade than he. What I chiefly admire in this gentleman is the ingenuity & humanity he discovers in all his actions, as well as his writings. I shall be more particular upon this matter in my next. I fear we look upon it as a matter of too little concern to be disconnected with Great Britain. The case

is almost *fact*, & the distresses now threatening us convince me (setting aside every other view of things) that we have been too precipitate. I wish with all my heart your very rational scheme of paying the national debt was put in practise. But as each party have proceeded to such extremes, it is now too late to think of any other method than obtaining redress by the dint of the sword. I doubt whether anything less than the lives of many of our leaders would satisfy the malevolence of the Ministry, & our Congress have declared they will accept of nothing less than *giving law* to Great Britain. In short, the parent state looks upon us as petulant, froward children, that have been humoured too long, & need correction to make us sensible of our faults, & we esteem her to be an old woman with one leg in the grave, & we seem ready to throw the dust over her whole body. Soon, very soon, shall we both find ourselves mistaken. She will find us to be arrived at juvenility, with the strength & vigour attending that period of life, & likewise teach *us* that her blood circulates in the smallest veins. Time & inclination forbid me to pretend painting the horrors of civil war, & gladly I forbear.

Massachusettensis & Novanglus have taken different routs. Each discovers great ingenuity & learning. The writer of Mas. is supposed to be Mr Leonard & his antagonist Mr John Adams. They will both be printed in pamphlets. After repeated enquiry I have not been able to obtain Mr Dickinson's publication, Charlevoix, or Fleetwood. The *Political Disquisitions* consist of two large octavo volumes, wrote by Mr Burgh, the author of the Dignity of *Human Nature*. I know of no one who has them at present but Mr J. Adams, to whom the author sent them. Most of the fine speeches, &c. are there collected, with many excellent quotations, interspersed with the ingenious remarks of Mr Burgh. I will send Mr Bernard's letters the next opportunity. Evans will go on

his journey this afternoon, & I have been unable to write before, & can scarce now connect two ideas, being very poorly & much relaxed. You will therefore excuse my brevity. Your Province will be under much the same predicament, I believe, with our own. Excepting this, one place must be dealt with first. I wish your excellent Governor might continue with you. Sir W^m Draper's character is high, both as a man of letters & of military abilities; but I had much rather be under the government of M^r Wentworth.

I am much obliged to you for the benevolence you discovered in the friendly criticism on my metaphor. I think your remark very just. I wish for many such friends.

My state of health is such that I may probably ride soon to Dover. What the condition of our College will be no one knows: most likely we shall all be dismiss'd from Cambridge, & a thought has entered my head to take your school for two or three months at furthest. Be so kind as to mention in your next whether it is vacant, at what part of the town it will be kept, & in what house I should live, supposing I come.

I will inform you concerning M^r Bacon the next opportunity. Am much obliged to you for your coins, & remain your affectionate friend & humble servant.*

S. SEWALL TO JOSEPH BELKNAP.†

M^r Joseph Belknap, Boston.

[May, 1775.]

DEAR SIR,—I have been to the Steward's at Camb^{go}. He has left his house, which is at present the head-quar-

* This letter has a flourish instead of a signature at the end. — Eps.

† Probably Samuel Sewall, great-grandson of Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, and himself Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. He was born Dec. 11, 1757, graduated at Harvard College in 1776, and died June 8, 1814.

Joseph Belknap, father of Jeremy Belknap, removed to Dover not long after the breaking out of the war, and continued to reside there during the remainder of his life. His

ters of our troops. There is nothing more to be transacted now in College affairs, so that both those bills may be omitted payment. I have inclosed the butler's bill. I should be exceeding glad to have the money, as you are going so great a distance. M^r Hopkins will deliver it to me at the Ferry, where I shall be waiting.

I have the pleasure to inform you that M^{rs} Belknap & Nabby got safe to Malden on Saturday afternoon.

The inclosed letter is of importance. I wish it might be delivered as soon as possible. Leverett, to whom I desire my love, will be so kind as to deliver it to my aunt & wait for an answer.

I am, Sir, in great hurry, you[r] obliged & obedient humb, serv^t

S. SEWALL.

Monday Morn^g.

S. SEWALL TO JOSEPH BELKNAP.

[May, 1775.]

DEAR SIR, — M^{rs} Belknap received a letter from your son last evening, dated 30th of April, by M^r Wallingford. He writes that he is safe at home, & as soon as he hears of Boston's being open he will bring or send his horse & chaise. She & Nabby are at Malden now & well. They desire you would get every thing over the Ferry that you can; more especially the trunks, barrels, &c., that were packed up. You may send them safely without coming yourself, if you provide some person to receive them on this side the Ferry. Any person of your acquaintance in Charlestown will receive them into their house. M^{rs} Belknap will send to your son for a cart, which will receive them there & carry them to Dover. I shall wait on this side the Ferry for an answer which I should be glad, Sir, if you would send immediately. I should be equally glad

wife died Oct. 12, 1784, and he died Aug. 30, 1797. (See Life of Jeremy Belknap, by his Granddaughter, p. 91.) — Eds.

of receiving at the same time an answer to the letter I sent you yesterday.

You will be so kind as to inform Leverett that his bed, trunk, &c. are in his study, & if he approves of it I will have them carried to Mother Nutting's. Tell him that I long to see him out of town, & that I would advise him to come out by all means. Pray, Sir, send me an answer immediately.

I am, with respect, your obliged & obedient humble serv.^t,

S. SEWALL.

P. S. I am in great want of a pocket-book. You would oblige me much if you would procure one in town & send it over by Mr Hopkins.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

*Rev^d Mr Belknap, Dover. To the care of Mr Richard Champney,
Portsmouth.*

MILTON, May 26, 1775.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — I am under the greatest obligations to you for your kindness in procuring me the school. I received your letters last evening, & shall not fail to come immediately to Portsmouth after I can acquaint my father with my situation. You may expect me certainly next week or the week after. My father continues in Boston with two of my brothers to keep him company.* He is in a lonely, melancholy state, & desirous of coming out, but can't reconcile it to his duty to leave so many people destitute of all Gospel ordinances. The rest of the family are at Fairfield. I inclose a short epistle from

* Rev. Andrew Eliot, D. D., minister of the New North Church, remained in Boston through the whole of the siege. His eldest son, of the same name, (born Jan. 11, 1743, graduated at Harvard College in 1762, died Oct. 26, 1805,) was minister of the church in Fairfield, Conn. — Eds.

your brother Sam^l, which he sent on the back of packet sent me by my father. He would have gone to England from Boston; but his wife was unwilling. It is dated May 15th, & I suppose he is at Halifax by this time.

My love to Ruthy & the children.

I am your obliged friend & servant,

JOHN ELIOT.

SAMUEL WEBSTER TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

EXETER, July 6, 1775.

SIR, — We have at present no chaplains with our forces at Cambridge. The Committee of Safety have just now resolved that you be applied to to act in that very necessary work. I can't but hope, Sir, that you will be disposed & obtain the consent of your people to comply with their desire. I am sensible that it will be in many respects a self-denying work, but I trust this will not discourage you. It is surely very important that our many friends & brethren in the army, engaged in a cause which we trust God approves, surrounded with deaths & temptations, should not want the advantages of social worship, & the more private instructions, cautions, & encouragements which may be afforded by a faithful chaplain. I can't but hope that all objections will be over-ruled. I conclude that the ministers in the part of the [countr]y from whence I come will endeavour to have one of their number generally or constantly at Cambridge. Some of the ministers in this part of the country talk of the same plan. Sir, I hope you will easily determine to comply with the desire of the Committee. Whenever you can

* This letter was written by Rev. Samuel Webster, Jr., of Temple, N. H. (son of Rev. Samuel Webster, D.D., of Salisbury, Mass.). He was born Sept. 10, 1743, graduated at Harvard College in 1762, was a member of the second Provincial Convention of New Hampshire, served for a short time as a chaplain in the army, and died Aug. 4, 1777. (See Blood's History of Temple, N. H.) — EDS.

determine, you will be kind enough to send word to the Committee.

With much respect, from your friend & brother,

SAMUEL WEBSTER.

To the Rev^d Mr Belknap.

ANDREW ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Mr Belknap, Dover.

Boston, Aug. 3, 1775.

MY DEAR SIR,—I rec^d yours of June 17, yesterday; am obliged to you for your regard to my son, & intreat your constant advice & assistance to him in this critical time of his life. I can do but little for God & his people, but hope my tarrying here has been of use. I am continually employed in visiting the sick, who are numerous, in attending the prisoners, tho' it has not been tho't proper I should see them of late. I wish I could make you the visit you so kindly propose, but fear I shall not be able. When I leave the town I must make haste to Fairfield. My son Samⁿ will leave us to-morrow. He & Josiah desire to be remembered to you & yours. Josiah cannot find time to write to John at present. My situation is difficult eno', but my God strengthens me. Things will, I am persuaded, issue well in God's time & way. I leave all with him. 'Tis a comfort that the Gospel opens to us prospects far superior to any this world can yield. My best regards to your father & mother, your wife, sisters, & all other friends with you. I snatch this moment, but have only time to assure you of what I hope you do not [need] assurance, that I am

Your obliged friend, brother, & serv^t.,

AND^w ELIOT.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO RUTH BELKNAP.

To Mrs. Ruth Belknap. In Dover, New Hamps.

CAMBRIDGE, October 18, 1775.

MY DEAR, — I should omit writing till to-morrow morning, but must go as far as Milton this afternoon, & am afraid shall not be back here time eno' for the post. I got here safe & well, & find the place & army much more healthy than I supposed. Last night a floating battery was sent down Cambridge River toward the bottom of Boston Common with design to take a floating battery belonging to the regulars that lay in the bay. They had orders also to fire into Boston, directing their fire toward the Governor's house, the lanthorn of w^{ch} was illuminated. They fired several shot into y^e town & caused an alarm there, but unfortunately one of their guns split, & wounded seven men, 2 of whom are since dead; the cartridges took fire at y^e same time, & y^e battery was sinking, but was towed up the river agⁿ. I forbear any remarks on this proceeding till I see you. A vessell with flour for the regular army is taken & carried into Connecticut. M^r Cary told me he heard D^r Franklin (who by y^e way is here as one of a comittee from the Grand Congress to consult with the Generals about future operations) read a letter fr^o England, by w^{ch} it appears that the Hanoverians will not come this winter. A vesell from England is arrived at Nantucket; the papers are not yet come to hand, perhaps they will come today. An assault on y^e town of Boston is much the subject of conversation here, & I am afraid it will be attempted; if it is really intended, I should think it rather injudicious to [make] such faint attempts as last night; but I forget myself. D^r Church is still under confinement, & has had no tryal as yet. Tell M^{rs} Gerrish that Sam does not intend to enter on board a privateer, as she heard. The men from

Dover are in general well. Tom Meder is very poorly. Mr M.'s account of y^e army I find to be too true. I expect if weather permits to be at home by Tuesday night. Yours in haste, w love to y^e childⁿ.

J. B.

PAINE WINGATE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

To the Rev^d Jeremy Belknap. In Dover.

HAMPTON FALLS, Oct. 23^d 1775.

DEAR SIR, — With utmost readiness & pleasure I will contribute whatever is in my power for your assistance in so desireable a performance as that you have in hand. And agreeable to your request have applyed to Col. Weare for papers of his ancestor, N. Weare, who has searched among his papers, and found several, which I have transmitted to you with this letter in a bundle containing thirty numbers. The Col. told me there were many other valuable writings his grandfather had which thro' neglect before they came into his hands have been lost. He has sent you all he cou'd find, & numbered them, not in any exact order, but princpily to keep them from being scattered, which he desires you will return to him at some convenient opportunity.

I am, Sir, with great respect, y^r friend & humble servant,

PAINE WINGATE.

To the Rev^d Mr Belknap.

* Paine Wingate was born in Amesbury, Mass., May 14, 1739, and graduated at Harvard College in 1759. In December, 1763, he was ordained minister of the church in Hampton Falls, and he continued in that office until 1771. Subsequently he engaged in agriculture at Stratham, N. H. He was for a short time a member of Congress under the Articles of Confederation; from 1789 to 1793 he was a member of the Senate of the United States, and for the next two years a member of the House of Representatives; and from 1798 to 1809 he was one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire. He died March 7, 1838. At that time he was the oldest living graduate of his College. (See 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 205, note.) — Eds.

D. MACCLURE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

*The Rev^d Jeremy Belknap. In Dover.*PORTSMOUTH, NOV^r 30th, 1775.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — I intended before this to have made a visit to Dover, & am not yet out of hopes of seeing it before long. To bring it about I send this piece of paper with my best respects, requesting the favor of a change with you, either the ensuing Sabbath or the Sabbath after next, as is most convenient. If the proposal meets your approbation, & you will please inform me by a line, you will much oblige, Rev^d Sir, your unworthy fellow laborer in y^e vineyard.

D. MACCLURE.

An agreeable piece of intelligence has just come to town, & authentic, y^t one of o^r privateers has taken a brig of 200 tons, with 30 tons of powder, 2000 stands of arms, mortars, & other warlike stores, — another argument for devout thanks to Gd!

JOHN PHILLIPS TO JEREMY BELKNAP.†

*The Rev^d M^r Joseph Belknap, Pastor of the Ch^h in Dover.*EXETER, 23^d Mar., 1776.

REV^d SIR, — The Rev^d M^r Rogers has made me acquainted with the (even) necessitous circumstances of a

* Rev. David McClure, D.D., was born in Newport, R. I., Nov. 18, 1748, and graduated at Yale College in 1769. After leaving college he taught in Moor's Indian Charity School, and was afterward a tutor in Dartmouth College. In 1772 he was ordained as a missionary to the Indians, but the mission was soon broken up by the troubles between the Colonies and the mother country. For the greater part of the next three years he preached in vacant pulpits in Boston and Portsmouth. He twice declined a call to become the successor of Rev. Dr. Langdon in the latter place. In November, 1776, he was installed as minister of the church in North Hampton, N. H., where he remained for nearly nine years. In June, 1786, he became minister of the church in East Windsor, Conn., in which office he continued until his death, June 25, 1820. (See Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. ii. pp. 7-9.) — EDS.

† Hon. John Phillips, LL. D., founder of Exeter Academy, was born in Andover, Mass., Dec. 27, 1719, graduated at Harvard College in 1735, and died in Exeter, April 21, 1795. — EDS.

grandson of the late venerable & truly pious Doct^r Sewall of blessed memory. You are pleas'd, dear Sir, to interest yourself in his behalf, and by this mean I come to share the sacred pleasure with you. My love to the good Doctor & his church, afflicted & scattered abroad, & of consequence less able to afford relief in this case, induces me very eagerly to embrace such an opportunity of expressing a most cordial affection for one whom the good people of Boston, of that ch^h in particular, must wish well to, and as I trust it is a service acceptable to God, how happy am I and how [than]kful ought I to be.

I now send fifty pounds, hoping if [after] the frugal expenditure thereof there should be occasion for more you will be pleas'd to give yourself the trouble — no! the pleasure of letting me know what further sum wou'd be serviceable.

I am, with respect, yours affectionately,

JOHN PHILLIPS.

Rev^d Mr. Belknap.

ANDREW ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremiah Belknap, Dover. Favored by Cap^t Martyn.

BOSTON, March 26, 1776.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have only time to write very briefly in answer to your kind letter. Thro' the goodness of God I am well, but have endured much. I have not received any remarkable insults from our late despots. I kept as much as possible out of y^e way. Your parents would be safe in coming back, but no business is yet done. I should think it best your father should come to look after his affairs. M^r Eliot will not bring his wife [for] some time; but if your mother should come there will be no difficulty but from her not finding proper accommodations. I hope the manuscripts in the Old South

steeple are not meddled with. Dr Byles is well. He removed a few nights, I am told, during the cannonade, by which he was endangered. I have not seen him since. It is surprizing no one was kild, & only a boy hurt of the inhabitants, by all y^e shells & shot thrown in upon us of late. My son is at Braintree. He is engaged in preaching at present. He ought to have written to you. I thank you for your kindness to him. The British troops are not all gone from Nantasket. Some departed today. I never expect to see them or any other British soldiers in Boston. God hath done great things for us whereof we are glad. God grant we may never forget his works. My regards to your dear wife, your parents, & all friends. I have much to write, but have time only to add y^t I am

Yours affectionately,

A. ELIOT.

I am told the Province Records are carried off; possibly the Probate. I believe no other.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Mr Jeremy Belknap, Dover, New Hampshire. Per favor Bishop Haven.

DEDHAM, July 4th, 1776.

REV^d & DEAR SIR,—Yesterday at the ordination I accidentally met your neighbour, the Bp. of Rochester,* who I think will do very well as a medium of communication between us, & by whom you'll receive this expression of my friendship. You must not judge from the date of my letter that I have chang'd my place of abode,

* Rev. Joseph Haven was born in Dedham, May 25, 1747, graduated at Harvard College in 1774, settled as minister of the church in Rochester, N. H., in 1776, and died Jan. 27, 1825. The ordination referred to was that of Rev. Jabez Chickering as minister of the Second Parish in Dedham, afterward set off and incorporated as Norwood. (See Worthington's History of Dedham, p. 116; Mann's Annals of Dedham, p. 109.) — EDS.

& so direct it to the wrong place, lest it should meet with the fate of one [of] your former letters, which pass'd thro' several towns & fifty or an hundred hands in every place, each one altering & emending the superscription till it was so variated & filled up as rendered it difficult to know y^e meaning & took me longer to read it *by odds* than the contents of the letter. I am here acc[id]entally, only as a lay preacher, & spent this week in y^e town to be present at the consecration of a Right Rev^d Father. You may have an account of the proceedings from the bearer.

I wonder how you got home with your lame horse. We feared you would not reach Haverhill, & I was so stupid as to forget to ask M^r Haven about you. I hope you'll forgive this forgetfulness when you consider my innate carelessness, w^{ch} discovers itself on all occasions, oftentime making me appear singular, tho' more often ridiculous. We have had a very melancholy prospect before us of the fruits of the earth. The towns to y^e southward of Boston suffered exceedingly. The fields entirely lost their verdure, & everything appeared withered & dried up. We had some very refreshing showers w^{ch} have revived the plants, rendered y^e air more pure & y^e "ground more balsamic." (To use y^e words of you know whom; if you don't, ask M^{rs} Belknap, & if [she] don't know, then I shall think your "cottage is very dark" indeed.)

News of a public nature I don't know what to say about. I did hear some flying reports yesterday; but I don't believe them, & therefore won't mention anything about them. So much we are all sensible of, — that our affairs are very gloomy in Canada; and the latest news is constan[t]ly an account of the latest defeat. That country (to use a vulgar expression) has been a sink of men's lives. If we look back, — from the first settlement how many are the battles w^{ch} have been fought between y^e savages & the French, the French & the

English, & now the English & us! How many brave warriors have moistened that land with their blood, & what scenes of desolation open to our view! I know not what will be the end of these things; but I foresee much bloodshed before we are in full possession of that extensive Province.

You doubtless heard that there was a fleet of 9 or 10 sail w^{ch} for some time coasted off our harbor. We should have had warm work had they attempted to come in, tho' our army was so numerous & well prepared that we must inevitably have taken them. Fortifications go on very briskly, more so than ever. Our soldiers are so afraid of being sent to Canada that they stand ready to garrison the forts before they find a place for the breast-work. Our Province have agreed to send 500 men to recruit the forces; but we shall find it difficult to raise men, tho large bounties are offered, even from our parsimonious Court.

Domestic Occurrences. — I was at Boston last week. My father & mother were gone to Salem. They were both well when they went away. Siah is gone to Connecticut, so that our auditory nerves enjoy some repose.* I have been to Worcester since I saw you, & bro't Ruthy home.† It looks somewhat more natural, now we are all together. The town is more lively since the ships left the harbor. The general opinion is that the small pox must spread. It increases so fast there is no stopping it.

I have had y^e pleasure of reading Wynne's History of America since I saw you. The style is luxuriant, the diction generally good, & the narration is interspers'd with a variety of fine sentiments & pretty reflections. He is a High Churchman, tho' he speaks much in favor of liberality. But he is ungenerous & injurious in his

* Josiah, or Siah, as he is familiarly called in these letters, was an older brother of the writer. — Eds.

† Ruth was the second daughter and fifth child of Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot. — Eds.

characters of y^e first settlers. He speaks of Mr Eliot as one whom the formalists affected to call y^e Apostle of y^e New World. I would be larger in my account of this work, but must leave it till some other opportunity of writing.

Love to your family.

Yrs.,

J. ELLIOT.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

BOSTON, Jany. 12, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am almost ashamed to write to you. I have been so very negligent in my duty, & am altogether so very destitute of matter for apology, that I am really persuaded you must think very oddly of me, & therefore the only thing I can say is by way of promising to reform, which must be of little weight, as you have so little reason to rely upon my promises.

I think you begun an *Æra* from the receipt of my last letter. If nothing important in the epistolary way has turned up since that time, sufficient matter has been in the political world to make up for it. I think your *Æra* begun (or y^e writing of my letter happened) with the Independance of America. You may now begin another *Æra* when you receive this, as the date is equally important; for we received certain accounts (it is said) that the whole British army was cut off in a late *general action* at Princetown. I dare not say that I am so much of an infidel as to dissent from the prevailing & almost *universat opinion*, for I dined with a gentleman yesterday (a gentleman of repute) who undertook to prove that a Tory could not be saved. He laid down his data from the *American Crisis*,* — “That every Tory must be a coward, because it implied a slavish fear in the very idea.” Hence he

* The first number of Paine's *American Crisis* was published in January, 1777. — EDS.

drew his conclusion y^t if he was a coward he could not be saved, for the Scripture asserted that the “fearful & unbelieving should never inherit Eternal Life.”

Inter nos. I may say that I require almost the same evidence of our warlike atchievements as Thomas wanted for y^e truth of what his brother disciples asserted. Little less than y^e evidence of my own senses will persuade me to believe the daily reports w^h are current among all orders of people, and which, as fast as the succession of moments, cause them to wear the face of joy & knit the brow of sorrow. Hence you will be led to think that I believe very little of what has passed since the evacuation of Boston. I can assure you your sentiments will be very just; and in excuse for my own unbelief, I will say I have never seen any certain account of any affair since M^r Howe first landed on Long Island. But we have been left to gain our knowledge intirely from the private letters of partisans, or the more tainted medium of the public prints.

What think you of the consequence of Independance? Last winter great bets were laid that France would openly assist the United States in less than three months after the Declaration, that they would send a large fleet and army immediately upon their hearing of it. What are our prospects? Have we any assurance of their assistance? I have conversed with all orders of men, & been particularly earnest in my enquiries after the situation of the powers of Europe. I have been very ambitious of obtaining the views of the Congress, & whether they had any certain expectation of assistance from France, as well as what were their sentiments at present. But the result of all my enquiries is, that the same hackneyed, commonplace opinion of the natural enmity between France & Britain prevailed among the members of the Grand Council of America, “Revenge must actuate the French to hostilities against Britain, & it is their interest that America

should be independent." I heard Mr Pain (Ruthy's amiable & peculiar friend) harangue for hours upon the probability, yea certainty, of the event, from these causes. And I had the pleasure some time ago of spending an evening with Mr John Adams, who gave this ground for his opinion, with this addition as a confirmation of his hopes, that the present Minister of France was a person who delighted in war.

If I give my own little opinion, your candor will put a gloss over the absurdity, & my sentiments, tho' wrong, will rest secure under the shadow of the wings of friendship. If there were no better prospects of a revolution in our favor, I must think it a very — wicked affair. Every end which can be now answered by the Declaration of Independance could have been answered in our former situation, except foreign assistance in an open manner. I say openly, because the underhand trade with us was carried on as profitably then as now. And there ariseth this difficulty from the Declaration, that matters can no way be accommodated. Perhaps after many efforts of bravery America might have brought them to a very advantageous accommodation, & possessed all the advantages of independance, except the — name. But this solemn contempt of y^r friendship & power will rather have a tendency to make them despair & determine them upon distressing us at the risk of their own destruction. Such has been the obstinacy of mankind in all ages. I have been in company with Colonel Campbell, a prisoner at Reading, a member of Parliament & a gentleman of large interest, who gave it as his opinion that the matter of independency was the greatest gratification to Lord North, & that it would have been happy for England if we had declared it 6 months before. The minority in the House of Parliament greatly retarded all their operations, & their favorite argument was that we never designed independance, & he said this convincing

proof of the bent of all our proceedings would confirm the good opinion of the Ministry with the people of England, & unite them against us. At some future opportunity I will give a particular character of this gentleman, & relate the conversation there was between us. We shall have frequent occasion to write upon this matter of independancy; but before I leave it at this time, you will suffer me again to manifest the weakness of my judgment in giving an opinion of the situation of France with respect to America, or rather of the part the French will act in the present contest. Is Britain a natural enemy of France? Grant it; but is it the island or nation against which France will show her resentment? They would not fight against an inanimate piece of earth. And if they wreak their anger upon the nation, why should we not suffer who are colonies of G. B. & have done our part to cramp the power [of] France, as well as those of the parent state? If it is a natural enmity, why will it not affect America as well as Britain? It rather appears to me she will manifest her enmity by assisting each party so far as will weaken & destroy the other. I know it is unpopular to use the term Colony, as this implies that we originated from that land which is now the land of oppression, the nursery of tyrants, & sink of iniquity. We must not use any term w^h will bring to remembrance the idea of emigration, but view ourselves to be *self-existent* as well as independant. But it is for the interest of France, they say, that G. B. & the Colonies should be separated. This I likewise allow to be true, as well as that she would find it to be her interest more to assist America than Britain. But the histories of all nations convince me that ministers of state do not *always* act for the interest of their country. They have their own selfish designs to answer, & they make everything subservient to their own interest. Had the interest of Great Britain been properly regarded, America would

never have had cause for complaint. But, as saith the author of the Political Disquisitions,* we have seen the same system of corruption maintained “in the administration of a *Walpole*, a *Greenville*, a *Bute*, a *Rockingham*, a *Pitt*, & a *North*,” & ’tis only from the nation itself that we can expect a regard to be shewn to the national interest. A British Minister may bribe a favorite mistress of the Minister of France, & we shall find that, however fond he may be of war, he will prefer his repose in the lap of his *Delilah* to the warlike achievements he might gain by assisting America, & the nation would not wake him from his slumbers till the fate of America is decided. This by the by.

From the situation of the country I will turn your attention particularly to the town of Boston. It is a rare thing to meet with any body here without some *lofty titles* to declare their merit, — Colonel A., Major B., Captain C., denominates every puppy that “bays the moon.” I only want leisure to write an essay upon the *times*. A moderate genius might find such a fund of matter, serious or humourous, to transmit to future ages as must raise their admiration. Of the very small part who are undistinguished by military habiliments, you can find none who do not think themselves *somehow* above their neighbors. To suppose a person a mechanic is an affront. Everyone belongs to some Committee of Correspondence, or Safety, or Supply, or else holds a seat under some gentlemen who fill these important places, & therefore must be treated with such complaisance that we must learn all the twistings of the body which is necessary for a *valet de chambre* before we can receive a token of cognisance. We are all obliged to go barefoot & ragged, for you may as well fish for pearls in Oyster River, or look for the planet Venus at midday, as seek for such creatures in Boston as a

* James Burgh, a Scotchman, born in the latter part of 1714, died in August, 1775. He published “Political Disquisitions, or Enquiry into Public Errors, Defects, and Abuses,” London, 1774-75, 3 vols., 8vo. The work was left unfinished at his death. — Eds.

taylor or shoemaker. Somebody asked Mr Otis the other day his opinion of the present measures & leaders, & he dismissed them with this laconic answer: "When the pot boils, the scum will arise." If he had his senses acute as ever, he could not have made a better speech, or mixed so much sentiment with so few words. It is said of Swift that his smartest stroke of wit was after he was a fool.

With regard to myself, I have the happiness to inform you that I have my health much better than I had before I visited your region of salubrity. I continue to preach at an obscure parish in Dedham, tho' I have been invited to supply several churches in Boston.* The reason of my not preaching in Boston is, that my first invitation was at Dr Byles, & I could not come with honor if I preached in town. You have heard the whole affair, doubtless, of Dr Byles dismission. (If you have not I have no room to insert it now.) They made the first application to me to supply the pulpit; & as y^e preaching there is attended with many disadvantages (the ministers of Boston refuse to make any exchange with y^e person who preaches there) I declined.

I heartily sympathize with you on the death of your sister, & am persuaded she is much more happy in heaven than she would be on earth.† Give my love to Ruthy. My papa & mama desire me to present theirs. We are all well. Adieu.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Mr Belknap, Dover.

Boston, March 19, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR, — Don't think hardly of me if I do not write. It is not want [of] affection which is the cause

* The parish referred to was the Third Parish in Dedham, sometimes called the Clapboardtrees Parish, now the Unitarian Society in West Dedham. (See the next letter; Worthington's History of Dedham, p. 59; Dedham Hist. Register, vol. i. p. 18.) — Eps.

† Mrs. Belknap's sister, Elizabeth, died unmarried, Jan. 4, 1777. — Eps.

of my negligence. I am always determining to write, always writing, & yet never write. If I am beforehand of an opportunity, it never arrives. Those to you & Mr Wentworth have been at *Cousin Sam's* months together, & no person has been in who was going to Dover. Let me determine again that I will not be so negligent. Believe once more.

You[r] family, I suppose, is increased, — another little Angelina. I wish it may afford you much happiness. Your brother's child is a pretty little sprightly creature, the joy, but more the affliction, of its parents. Your brother has more command of himself & less anxiety, to appearance, than M^{rs} E., who is constantly uneasy, always in fear lest something ails it, or will ail it some time or other. I don't much wonder at this, their unreasonable agitation of mind. I often think of what Ruthy said when she heard M^{rs} E. was like to have another child, — “She was heartily sorry.” You can't conceive the misery which they seemed to be, which they were in, the last week because Fanny was sick. She was poorly, but had it been on the brink of the other world, irrecoverably lost, it could not have excited greater emotion. Was it to die, it would be to me, thro' the strength of my friendship & love, like losing my own right eye. With great pleasure I can tell you it is much better.

Perhaps you wonder I have not been at Dover. I like to have been there last week. If the riding had not been bad beyond description I should have been at the ordination of Mr Shaw, & half my desire to be there was that I might make an excursion to your house, & have given you a Sabbath day's rest. I think when I saw you last I was preaching at Clapboard trees in Dedham. I continued there till within this month, & found myself exceeding the bounds of my ability. Making two sermons a week, riding there every Saturday thro' snow, rain, &c., & then preaching on the next day made my

health flag, my spirits fail, unfitted me for the pleasures of study, & took away all taste for amusement. In a word, it made me hypochondriac. I therefore took the advice which my judgment gave me in a very friendly manner, *to come away*. At present I am preaching at Dr Chauncy's. He gives me ten pounds for half the day, which I should esteem as more than the equivalent to twenty for the whole, if the other ministers of the town would suffer me to sit still; but this don't tally with their inclination, & I have therefore engaged to supply the New South. And whom do you think I succeed? Tom Thatcher, — yes, *Tom*, I assure you. Tom, I believe, is more serious & clever than he was, but he is a queer, out of the way, original creature. He aims to be elegant in his compositions, & he don't want for imagination, but is too flowery & too apt to indulge poetical expression in his prayer. Dr Byles's church is supplied by Mr Bradford, a young gentleman, a friend of mine, a new beginner. The Doctor struts about town in the luxuriance of his self-sufficiency, looking as if he despised all mankind. He never attends any meeting. How he doth for a maintenance, nobody knows besides him, & the only account he can give is, "*That he doubles & trebles his money.*" He is a virulent Tory, & destitute of all prudence. Before I leave him, I will give you one more effort of his genius in y^e punning way. He observed Dr Cooper to go by his house often, & one day meeting him, Dr C., says he, you treat me just like a baby. I hardly take you, Sir, said y^e Doctor. Why, you go by, by, by.

Notwithstanding I despise Dr Byles as much as man can hold another in contempt, yet I think y^e proceedings of that church with him were irregular & unwarrantable, & hath held up a precedent for a practise that will cause y^e ruin of our ecclesiastical constitution, weaken y^e hands of y^e ministry, & lay such discouragement before candidates as will prevent their settling, & in few years the

harvest must be almost destitute of labourers.* When the church at Bolton made this innovation D^r Chauncy was so angry that he would have refused holding communion with the members; yet he now justifies & was the cause of this church at Boston proceeding in the way they have done. He says, "Byles is not fit for a preacher." So sa[y I], but I would have had a Council, & I am certain any Council w[ould] have given him his quietus.

Last Lord's day was the anniversary of the evacuation of the town. The ministers preached upon the occasion, & were popular. We are in a precarious situation. My father expects another visit from M^r Howe, & is sending his furniture (what he can spare) into the country. My brother at Fairfield is worse off still. He is in the center of danger. Several times the troops have attempted to land near his house. The Sound is lined with ships that are firing continually upon y^e town. The women & children have moved off, & for several weeks past the men have attended meeting armed *cap-a-pee*. Dire are the calamities of war. When shall we see returning peace? There is nothing new that I can send you at present. We are all well. We wish well to you. My love to Ruthy & the children. Has any light penetrated the chinks of y^e dark cottage lately? Adieu.

* The Rev. Dr. Mather Byles, minister of the Hollis Street Church, had made himself very obnoxious to his church and congregation by his avowed sympathy with the adherents to the Crown; and on the 9th of August, 1776, a meeting was held in the meeting-house to consider the charges against him on this account, to which the church records say he gave "such answers as he tho't proper." Thereupon it was determined to give him a summary dismissal without calling an Ecclesiastical Council, and the next week a vote was passed that "The Rev^d Dr. Mather Byles, having by his conduct put an end to his usefulness as a publick preacher amongst us, be and hereby is dismissed from his pastoral charge." (See Chaney's Hollis Street Church, from Mather Byles to Thomas Starr King, p. 9.)—Eds.

JOHN SULLIVAN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

GENERAL SULLIVAN presents his most respectful compliments to the Rev^d M^r Belknap; most sincerely thanks him for his friendly wishes & good opinion; will see the letter delivered agreeable to M^r Belknap's request.

Would think himself highly honoured by a visit from M^r Belknap & lady before his departure, if their business & health will admit.

Fryday, April 4th, 1777.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

BOSTON, MAY 9th, 1777.

REV^d & DEAR SIR,—Of all my correspondents I like you the best, as there is more of a mixture of the *utile dulci* in your letters than in any one's else. (By the way, I would just relate a little anecdote of this motto. I may forget it, if I don't mention it now. Our Court employed a number of gentlemen to make a new emission of money, and they agreed to take this motto, — *Omne tulit punctum qui utile dulci*. Their chairman in writing it down made two mistakes w^{ch} none were able to correct, & which were not corrected till so much money had been struck off that it cost the State several hundreds Lawful to pay the printer. Clean loss somewhere.) You write with great ease & familiarity; you love Yorick, are liberal in your sentiments, & have ever been particular in your friendship towards me. It is no fault that so few letters have passed between us the year ago; for many letters of mine (which you would have answered), tho' written, have never reached you. To mention particularly one

* General Sullivan (born at Berwick, Me., Feb. 17, 1740, died at Durham, Jan. 23, 1795) was about to return to the army when this note was written. There are numerous letters from him to Mr. Belknap; and he was much interested in procuring some public recognition of Mr. Belknap's labors as an historian. — Eds.

instance: a packett containing a letter to you & one to Mr Wentworth is now, & has lain in your brother's drawer near four months. I wish opportunities were more immediate. 'Tis true I could send to Portsmouth often, but it then remains uncertain whether you will ever receive them. John Clarke is a careless case, (which with my compliments you may tell him, if you please,) & perhaps they would not even get to him.

O tempora, O mores, is at present the universal cant. Paul Revere haranguing in town meeting, the commandant of every particular company, the gentleman in his domestic circle, & every drabbling dishclout politician, however various their opinions, have all some kind of observation to make upon the times. All think we are tending & hastening to ruin because ma[n]y things happen contrary [to] the view of each party or the designs of each individual. But while all are complaining & externally contriving measures to remedy the evil, each one blaming his neighbour for his extortion, or wreaking his vengeance upon him as a Tory, none are tracing the polluted streams to their fountain, or considering that there *is* a fountain from whence issues this corruption which has so deeply stained the land. Would each one look into his own heart, & reflect how much he has contributed to involve his country in calamity, it would be a more effectual mean of extricating us from our difficulties than surveying the faults of our neighbours & backbiting one another, or brooding over the evils of the day without reflecting on what we have done amiss with ingenuous sorrow & full determination of amendment. Was you at Boston, my dear Sir, you would be affected with the calamitous moan of every individual, while you would be struck with indignation at our behaviour. We often hear excellent discourses on patriotism & on the moral virtues, which are as the morning cloud & early dew. Well, says one to the other, it is all true; dreadful times; something

must be done; what shall we do? *Here it ends.* Patriotism is constantly painted in the most elegant colours, as a child of Heaven whom most nations have cast out as a deformed bantling, unworthy their protection, but whom the Genius of America has nourished at her breast, fostered & supported, & who has spread a spirit of liberality & benevolence thro'out this land,—the blessed effects of this Liberty, we are told, that we daily experience. Could a stranger form an opinion from our present behaviour, what his sentiments would be I will only venture to guess. But I mean not to indulge myself in reflection on persons & things like a disappointed partizan, lest you should think the same of me as I do of some other folks. Besides, there are so many things now agitating in the political world, that it would be more agreeable to you, without doubt, to be informed of facts, than to have any opinion of things past, or to hear any complaint of things present.

The first affair that has happen'd since I wrote my last was the exhibition of Josie, Jun^r, at the head of a mob carting a number of Tories out of town. I believe this was not mentioned in the paper, tho' he often puts in his blustering threats, & you doubtless have heard strange & large accounts about the matter. It seems there was a plan laid to send these gentlemen (Mess^{rs} Sargeant, Cary, Jackson, Perkins, Green, &c.) out of town, either by the Committee of ———, or some [of] its members unbeknown to the others. Most of the persons in the cart were justly obnoxious. M^r Sargeant in particular, by his affectation of Toryism, has alternately filled the minds of people with indignation & contempt; but the inoffensive carriage of M^r Perkins raised up a spirit of tenderness & compassion so great, that every person of any character was ashamed to own himself approving of the matter. Let the persons be what they may, I cannot but think every rational man will condemn the proceed-

ing. Have these men done amiss, the law is open. If there is not power eno' lodged in our General Court to take hold of the enemies of the country, it is a pity the Court has a being. If we are in a state of anarchy, let us not have the credit or be at the expense of maintaining a Legislature.

People are refreshed with resentment against the Tories since the unhappy manœuvre at Danbury. It seems they were led on by these vermin, & assisted by them to destroy the stores. I have heard before that there were many of this kidney in the western part of Connecticut, & they have done much mischief to the State. Such persons I cannot but think deserve death, even of the most ignominious kind. To stab the vitals of our country is a crime beyond a name. A regicide is innocent in comparison, for he only kills a man; but the destroyer of his country is the murderer of a people. But let every man stand his tryal. Because a knot of villains have done much mischief in the State of Connecticut, it is not right the people should suffer in Boston. Nevertheless the poor Tories of Boston must do penance for what is done by their nominal brethren in Connecticut. If any persons are found guilty of evil doings, let them be punished to the rigor of the law, but let no person on meer ground of suspicion. Every art is contrived to inflame the minds of people, to set the town in a ferment, & cause people to vent their rage on these poor unhappy men. It is said the engines have been stopped up or rendered useless, & that dark lanthorns were seen neer the magazine, & yesterday morning (before town meeting, which was to consider of the best methods of dealing with them) it was declared 14 Tories had been taken in the act of burning the town, — all without foundation. If the Tories are to be destroyed, who is to draw the line between Whig & Tory? In this town, the most respectable triumvirate, — Thomas Crafts, Paul Revere, Harbottle Dorr. The like

jewels are not so precious, I suppose, but they may be found all over the Province.

As to domestic affairs, I have more to say than I shall be able to write. My father has bought a house & farm at Concord, & yesterday we sent out the best of our furniture. We somewhat expect my brother's family down, & it would serve conveniently for them if we should not have occasion for it ourselves. People in Boston are buying places in the country. We are much alarmed, and expect another attack, — at least we mean to prepare for the worst. Poor Andrew has been in a shocking situation. They landed about 5 miles from his house, & they were all called out in the night to make their escape. One of his principal parishioner[s] was killed instantaneously, & he writes word of a great quantity of stores were lost. The newspaper makes it, as common, trifling in comparison with the reality. *Alia sunt multa, sed non est dicere tempus.*

As to myself, I am here in my study writing; had it not been for an unlucky incident, I should be now *in your cockloft*. I want much to be there, & was to set off last Monday fortnight. Being disengaged, I fully expected to come. But there came a *Bootman* from Littleton complaining bitterly of their distressed circumstances. They had been 6 or 7 Sabbaths without a preacher, & could not get one to come before six weeks more. He said so much that Mr Bradford & I agreed to supply the six ensuing Sabbaths from that time. Two of mine are now past, & I have only one to go; & if I possibly can get a horse, I will come to see you & spend a quarter part of the time you desire.

You are a set of pretty fellows in your State to counterfeit money. It has made more mischief than a little here. Everyone is suspected, & nobody is trusted that comes from New Hampshire. It was reported here at first that a *parson* was concerned in the business. I am

glad there was no foundation for the report. I met with an old sea-captain that gave me the first account of it. He said there were eight concerned in the business, — a parson, a lawyer, a doctor, a printer, a merchant, a woman, — there's six, says he, & the devil makes a seventh, & I don't know who makes eight, & so I e'en put in a sailor to make the company compleat. You must call in all your money & make a new emission, or we will have nothing to do with you. Tell Ruthy I congratulate her on her little John.* How is little Angelena, and the rest of the children? I am heartily glad you like Yorick, & resemble him so much in your style. Your observations are just concerning, — I only want any person to read him twice, & if they are filled with humanity, & have generous dispositions, I defy them to help liking him.

Adieu. Love to all concerned.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Mr Belknap, Dover.

Boston, May 20, 1777.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — I fear you will lose time in reading so many letters as you will receive from me by your father, but I think not to neglect so good an opportunity & will therefore begin another. Mr Eliot desired me to give you a particular account of my brother Andrew, & as I have some letters by me, I will send an extract or two which will afford you an idea of his situation.

“ We are in the midst of evils arising not only from the rout of the enemy, some of whom (I hope the number is small) are so lost to every sentiment of religion & humanity that they plundered the houses of those who have stood foremost in the American cause. I find it true that

* Mr. Belknap's son, John, was born Dec. 30. 1776, baptized Jan. 5, 1777, and died Feb. 8, 1856. He was a little more than four months old at the date of this letter. — Eds.

y^e B. troops did little or no damage to houses that were inhabited, but that they professedly sacked every one that was evacuated, carrying off or destroying what they could. There are various accounts of their cruelty to several persons ; but none that I can depend upon. Some I find to be false."

"I was at Fairfield the whole of the time the enemy was on shore, except the time of the removal of my effects, &c. I had but one feather-bed left. I lodged on that with two blankets ; at last I sent away my blankets. A man dangerously wounded was bro't to my house. I resigned to him my last bed & slept on a sacking with a borrowed coverlid & some old cloaths. As to eating & drinking, I did as I could, &c."

"The troops had marched almost to Danbury before the inhabitants knew their destination. They were mustering & coming down to the assistance of Fairfield. Col. Cooke had about 170 militia, & Colonel Huntington 100 Continental troops. When the news was related by a transient person it was not believed, & upon reconnoitring the enemy it was found impracticable to attack them only upon their retreat." "Soon after the troops entered the town they went upon business & destroyed the provision & store houses. Part of the medicines were saved. The streets were flowing with fat & brine the next day over a man's shoes. Major Starr's house was burnt, & every place w[h]ere there were Continental stores. The Major fell from his horse before the destruction, fractured his skull, & died the next day, a valuable man, &c. Never was expedition better concerted, & carried on with more regularity, than it was by the British troops & the Provincials accompanying them."

"Lieut. Col. Gold was bro't home to Fairfield & buried with the honors of war. D^r Rogers of New York prayed, & I preached." This letter of my brother's was dated May 2^d. It seems from his letters that all expected Dan-

bury would be attacked, & yet were so foolish as to let the stores remain there. But the reason why they were not prepared to receive them better was that they expected them the other way, supposing they would land from the North River. And when they landed at Fairfield every one expected that they meant to surround & take possession of that town. From his letter of April 29 I will take an extract that you may see how everything concurred to make his situation distressing.

“On Sabbath after meeting there was a most shocking alarm. A Continental regiment came into town dressed in British uniform which had been taken in the prizes. Upon the sight of them our people imagined they were the British troops. The alarm was given. Men flew to arms. The women that remained run about like distracted creatures. My ears were pierced with the cry, ‘Pray, Sir, help; what shall I do?’ I tho’t it was a second party landed from the ships, & expected them instantly. We were soon rid of our apprehensions.”

Within this hour we have received another letter from my brother, entirely of a domestic nature. He mentions that he will be here next week, but says he shall not bring his family.

We had Saturday a town meeting about the Tories. You have seen the act. No sooner had they got together than Colonel Crafts made a motion to know the minds of the people whether they would abide by the act, or think of some more effectual way of expelling the Tories. Jo. Greenleaf opposed him, & said it was, in plain English, whether we should mind the authority of the General Court; and it was asked this sage military [com]mander whether he meant this, or what he did mean. He sa[id he] did not mean whether we should set aside the act; but [whether] we should abide by it. He was seconded by the great Paul Revere. These are the two first speakers at town meeting, & they were assisted by a noted Colonel

Sears from New York & John Winthrop. The motion was opposed by Jo. Barrell, one of the best speakers on the occasion, M^r Inches, Ellis Gray, Jo. Greenleaf, Major Dawes, M^r Hitchbourne. The D^{rs} Lloyd, Danforth, Rand, Whitworth, & Kast are among the Tories. D^r Byles likewise. Sam Parker was about being put up when the meeting was adjourned. It got to be just as the affair of the witches at Salem, — every one naming his neighbor, & the moderator put an end to the meeting. Most moderate men were put up, & I heard one of these say, who is a member of the House, that [he] had determined to nominate Crafts & Revere, & prove them enemies to y^r country by their opposition to the General Court, from whom they held y^r military commissions.

Remember me to Ruthy.

Yrs.,

J. ELIOT.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO THOMAS CUSHING.*

To the Hon^{le} Thomas Cushing, Esq., One of the Council of the Massachusetts State, Boston. BFreeFranklin.

(Duplicate.)

PARIS, May 1, 1777.

SIR, — I thank you for your kind congratulations on my arrival, and shall be happy in finding that our negotiations on this side the water are of effectual service to our country.

The general news here is, that all Europe is arming and preparing for war, as if it were soon expected. Many of the powers, however, have their reasons for endeavouring to postpone it, at least a few months longer.

* The first part of this letter, dated May 1, 1777, is printed in Mr. Sparks's edition of the Works of Benjamin Franklin (vol. viii. p. 216); but the paragraph relating to the privateers is omitted by him, and he does not give the letter of May 27. — EDS.

Our enemies will not be able to send against us all the strength they intended: they can procure but few Germans; and their recruiting & impressing at home goes on but heavily. They threaten, however, & give out that Lord Howe is to bombard Boston this summer, & Burgoyne, with the troops from Canada, to destroy Providence and lay waste Connecticut, while Howe marches against Philadelphia. They will do us undoubtedly as much mischief as they can. But the virtue and bravery of our countrymen will, with the blessing of God, prevent part of what they intend, and nobly bear the rest. This campaign is entered upon with a mixture of rage & despair, as their whole scheme of reducing us depends upon its success; the wisest of the nation being clear, that, if this fails, Administration will not be able to support another.

We just now hear from Port L'Orient that a privateer from Boston, the brig *Rising States*, Capt. Thomson, has sent in a prize there laden wth fruit and wine from Lisbon to London, being the third she had taken; and Mr Greenwood, a painter, formerly of Boston, who was here a few days since and returned to London, writes from Dover that he saw landed there 8 captains and their mates out of a Dutch homeward bound ship, which had been put on board her in the Channel by an American privateer, who had taken their several ships, and burnt two of them. We do not hear the privateer's name.

With the greatest respect, I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Mr. Cushing.

PARIS, May 27, 1777.

SIR,—The above went by Capt. Adams. Since which I received your favour by your son, who appears an amiable sensible young man. I have advis'd his staying

a few months in France to acquire the language, which, as we are likely to have more connection & commerce with this nation than formerly, may be of considerable use to him. He returns to Nantes with M^r Williams, who will take care of him there, & introduce him to the acquaintance of the mercantile people. He has recommended himself by his prudent behaviour here to all [who] know him, and I congratulate you on the prospect of [what?] such a son may afford you in your old age.

The privateer mention'd in my former was the Freedom. She took 12 prizes in coming to France. They are so alarm'd in England by some late captures that insurance between them & this continent is higher than at any time in the last war.

With great esteem, I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

M^r Newman did not come from Nantes.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Mr. Belknap, Dover. Per favor M^r Barrell.

BOSTON, June 12, 1777.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — M^{rs} Eliot told me yesterday M^r Barrell was about setting off for Dover; but as I understood her *immediately*, I concluded it would afford me no opportunity of answering your very agreeable letter I received the night before. I have just received a message from M^r E. that M^r B. will not go till to-morrow morning, & that I must prepare a letter which he will send for at nine o'clock. It is now evening, & I have therefore time only to mention the pleasing sensations I received from your ingenious remarks in the prophetic way, as well as the many other agreeable things in your letter, which have been perused the “2^d, 3^d, & 4th time.” I shall say

something of the hobby horse in my next. At present, I am glad your old red nag is disposed of. A plague to you & all the neighbours he was; is he still alive? How doth Father Merriam do now with his skeleton wife? I remember riding over on your right amiable beast to his house to the no small detriment of my nether face. How is it with the *soul's dark cottage*? Doth it decay or flourish? Is the air of Durham as "*balsamic*" as it was formerly?

Colonel Holland, I suppose you know his fate. I wish every money maker was well secured. They are [a] set of base fellows, & have done more injury to the community than any men among us. No wonder goods are at such a price in Boston shops when these fellows would offer such sums as was a temptation to increase in their demands. Shannon came to Boston the week before he was taken, & made two honest merchant[s] each £100 poorer by leaving that money counterfeit with them for articles procured. But is Major Richardson one of the scoundrels? By the way, — is there any Colonel Waldron belonging to Dover who has lately married a daughter of old Deacon Wynne of Woburn? I know of none of the name but Uncle Toby, the old Captain; and if his jewel is dead, why did you never mention it? This affair was spoken of in company the other day, & I was thought to know very little of the town of Dover, being a stranger to such a piece of connubiality.

News — nothing particular. No town meetings lately.

My brother Andrew has been down this fortnight past, — is now returned.

Love to your *uxor* & all the *homunculi* & *mulierculi*.

Yrs. affectionately,

J. ELIOT.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

BOSTON, June 17, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — M^r Eliot has this moment sent me a letter he received thro' D^r G. & desires me to dine there to-day. It is now twelve o'clock, but lest D^r G. shall go out of town this afternoon, I throw aside my sermon half finished (there is nothing very great in it), & send you a few lines, which if it has no other effect may serve to convince you of my very great regard & the very particular attention I desire to pay to you. Believe me to be sincere, & at the same [time?] unaiming at the elocution of our cousin Sam, when I say, that your last letter laid me under obligations so great as fifty of mine would not make me independant. If they were weighed in the balance, they would be found wanting. Lest I should not have time to take notice of many particulars, I will leave the whole till after dinners, & mention a few incidents relating to our domestic situation, the state of the town, land, &c., &c. I know that such minutiae are oftentimes agreeable, as we love to be acquainted with the welfare & even the adversity of our friends, & that nothing resembles a personal conversation as the particular mention of little occurrences. To begin then with the family. My brother Sammy has been very ill, visited with a high fever, his situation alarming, but thro' a kind Providence is now on the recovery. Too great an application to business rendered him unfit for any kind of business, & by a calculation in y^e rule of profit & loss, I believe y^e perquisites may be reduced so low as to manifest that mediocrity in all things is better than extremes; and that Horace was truly sentimental when he said, *Est modus*, &c., as well as Wil Lilly just in the less hackneyed praise of his more hackneyed grammar, *Medium est virtus quod tenuisse*, &c. It happened unlucky for my brother that as agent for Connecticut he had the care of

4 prizes, which came into ports E., W., N., S., & kept him in continual agitation, which was very unpleasant to his *pinguid corpus*, & has obliged him to expose no small part of it.

Siah is now gone to Dartmouth. "Mungo here, Mungo there, Mungo blustering everywhere."

Andrew has been down. I wish you could have seen him. He is a little curled pate object, with the top of his head almost bald. He has suffered considerable hardship, tho' not to the loss of his flesh; for it would make your belly blush only to stand at the side of him.

As to the girls, they remain *in statu quo*. Some of them have no prospect of being relieved from the afflictive circumstances, or rather that pain of mind, incident to a state of celibacy. There is a red-headed chap, *Agrestic Fame* says, is coaxing up Betsy at Milton,* & a young fellow by the name of Squire comes to the house to see Sally.†

My father & mother are well, as also his Excellency, myself. I supply Dr Chauncy's pulpit for the present. My friend Mr Bradford is at Concord, & we preach alternately in each place. Mr Stephens‡ & I talk of an exchange within these few weeks. If it takes place, you will see me at Dover soon. If I should be disappointed in this affair, I don't know when that pleasure will be permitted me. I must now go to dinner.

P. M. Mr Cooper is gone out of town, & I have not seen Dr Green. Mr C. tells me he shall be at Cambridge, & I'll continue writing in hopes of an opportunity to send the letter to him.

Next to family affairs come the town. And here what shall I say? First, negatively. Nothing about meetings.

* Elizabeth, oldest daughter of Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot, died unmarried. (See note, *post*, p. 207.) — Eds.

† Sarah, eighth child and fourth daughter of Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot, married Joseph Squire. (See note, *post*, p. 133.) — Eds.

‡ Perhaps Rev. Benjamin Stevens, D. D., of Kittery. — Eds.

We have had none since we condemned the Tories. Secondly & positively. I will acquaint a little about our Bostonian court. The first called to the bar was the magnificent Doctor.* He had on his large Whig, long band, a black coat, &c. He appeared without counsel, and upon the nomination of the jury he objected to one Fallas, commonly called Fellows, because he said he would not be tried by *fellows*. The evidence was much more in favor of him than against him. All that could be proved was that he is a silly, impertinent, childish *person*; I should say inconsistent, if his whole conduct did not manifest him to be one consistent lump of absurdity. When he was going out of court, he observed that the ceiling was very high, & he could not discern, but asked if none of them discovered a star. It was to the very great surprise of every one present, as well as to the whole town, that he should be bro't in guilty. His general character has been so despicable that he seems to have no friends to pity him, tho all allow upon such evidence he o't not to be condemned. The women all proclaim a judgment from Heaven as a punishment for his ill treatment of his wives. Vengeance has at length overtaken him, they say, & his present sufferings will now bring him to reflection, & he will now find that a Righteous Being taketh notice of all unrighteousness among men, & at proper times humbles the most haughty & self-sufficient. The Doctor is still confined to his house, deprived of visitors, to be removed at the pleasure of the Board of War. How are the mighty fallen!

* Rev. Dr. Mather Byles. "At the special Sessions of the Peace, held here on Monday last," says the Boston Gazette of June 9, 1777, "came on the trial of Mather Byles, late minister of the Gospel in this town, charged with being an enemy to the United States; when, after a fair and candid examination of evidence, the jury returned their verdict, that he, Mather Byles, is, and has been since the 19th of April, 1775, inimically disposed towards this and the other United States, and that his residence in this State is dangerous to the public peace and safety. He was then delivered into the custody of a proper officer, who conducted him to the Honorable the Board of War, there to be dealt with agreeable to a late act of this State, for such persons made and provided. And on Saturday last, one Edward Wentworth, of this town, had his trial, and was brought in guilty. Between Monday and Saturday several others were tried and acquitted." — Ebs.

D^r Byles' church has been supplied by a number of young gentlemen. The gentleman who was stately preaching there, a M^r Williams, died a few weeks ago in D^r Sprague's Hospital, while he was under inoculation for the small pox; and by his death the world was deprived of one of its greatest ornaments. He was one of the most accomplished scholars & best preachers of his standing, & was possessed of a disposition which made him endearing to all his acquaintance.

It was the greatest injury to the ministry that ever was done when this church proceeded to dismiss D^r B. without any kind of advice from an Ecclesiastical Council. Tho' many congregations in the country had set the example, yet we might have done the business for them, if this church had not supported them in their unjust behavior, & we might have made this very people buckle, if it had not been for the support they received from the ministers of Boston. Vacant parishes are so numerous, & candidates so few, that we view ourselves in the same light as English goods, being rendered inestimably valuable by our scarcity. And as we can chuse where to preach, we refuse to supply those places where they have used the ministers ill. The consequence of which is, that all these disorderly societies are now obliged to call councils to ratify what has been done, or give advice what had best be done. But as this church in Boston is looked upon as respectable from its situation, and as they are countenanced by the Boston clergy, many are ambitious of preaching there who would despise their own conduct if such a procedure has taken place in a more obscure parish. D^r Chauncy, who was so angry with the Boltonians when they dismissed M^r Goss as to say he would refuse communion with them,* from his enmity to Byles not only justified but stimulated them to this proceeding,

* For a detailed account of the troubles between the people of Bolton and their minister, Rev. Thomas Goss, see Edes's Address at Bolton, July 4, 1876, pp. 15-18, 43, 44. — Eds.

alledging that it was an irregular time & we must expect thing[s] irregular. My father was against it, as you well know, to the risk of his popularity, which was at great hazard owing to my refusing to supply the pulpit, as well as his own observation upon the measures. Being at leisure the other day, I was in a manner obliged to preach for them, but would not engage for any time. *Sed non, quo ad hoc, &c.* We were about the Court of Inquisition. D^r Kast & M^r Bradstreet were cleared. Parson Clarke is condemned. I don't know who comes next.

We are all starving here. Since this *plaguey* addition to the regulating bill, people will not bring in provision, & we cannot procure the common necessities of life. What we shall do I know not. You will see by the papers that we are pretty warm about the matter. Cousin Sam is thoro'ly worked up. I doubt not but that you [know] his sentiments, & can judge how nervously he speaks upon the matter.

We have here among us some Irish Magazines which Capt. Smedly took lately. I wish you could see them. There is plenty of matter edifying & entertaining. Your brother & I think them far beyond any thing of the kind that we have seen. But y^e reason of my mentioning them at this time is to let you know how they speak of our politicians & hero's. They appear to be friend[s] to America & say much in our praise; but they seem to be very much mistaken in y^r Characters, or else speak contrary, from their Hibernian dialect. The frontispiece is the President of our Continental Congress. It is said he is a person of surprising eloquence, a fine writer, argumentative & cool, as may be seen in the addresses of the Congress, all which were penned by him; that he hath lately married one of the most accomplished ladies on the continent, who has bro't him a great addition to his paternal fortune. So much for him. M^r S. Adams is a gentleman

who hath sacrificed an immense fortune in the service of his country. He is an orator likewise, & there is a famous oration upon the independance of America, which, it is said, he delivered at Philadelphia, January, 1776, but which was never seen in America before. General Washington, they say, was first a *private* in the King's Guards, & fought against the Rebels in 1745. Afterwards he went to America, & was promoted till he rose to be the accomplished gentleman the world now views him. Old Putnam was a long time in the service of the King of Prussia. In short, if you had nothing to judge from but the Characters, you would suppose it to be entirely burlesque. But from the whole of the Magazine you must impute it to ignorance. It is my own opinion that some Irishmen set down & conjectured what might be the characters of the American worthies, & dealt them out according to his own sentiments. The most surprising circumstance is that they suppose Major Rogers is a general in our army, & that he left the British service upon the disgust he took at his treatment some years ago. After giving his general character, they enlarge upon the ingratitude of Britain in treating such men as he, Lee, Montgomery, &c., in such a manner. These things have diverted me during my confinement, which has been off & on these three weeks, owing to lameness. I was so terribly galled by a hard trotting horse sometimes that I could scarcely walk for a week, & when I did walk it was in such a manner that I was obliged to tie a handkerchief round my leg to save appearances. The next week a bad sore came in that very place where the han[d]kerchief was tied. And last night, when my leg had got pretty well, I sprained my knee, & am unable to stir out of my chair today, & am in great pain. It would divert you to see me, however.



JOHN TRUMBULL TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL.*

*His Excell^y Gov^r Trumbull, Lebanon.*PORTSMOUTH, R. ISLAND, 13th August, 1778.

HON^d SIR, — Tho' I am entirely uncertain of any opportunity of conveyance to you, yet I cannot lose the opportunity of this idle day, or fail to employ a part of it in writing you an account of our movements to this time. On Saturday afternoon the French fleet pass'd up the harbour to take a station suitable to support our right in the intended action. The firing from the batteries they pass'd was very considerable, and return'd with prodigious fury from the fleet, tho' without any damage to either party. The fleet anchor'd at sunsett under Conanicut.

On Sunday morn^g we receiv'd intelligence that, on the passing of the fleet, the enemy had abandon'd all their outposts and withdrawn to the town. This information determin'd the Gen^l to hasten his intended plan, and take possession immediately. Topham's reg^t accordingly pass'd and took possession of the fort on Butts's Hill near the ferry, about 7 o'clock in the morn^g. The whole army follow'd as fast as possible, and form'd agreeable to the order of battle before given, in the following manner, viz.: Varnum's, Glover's, Cornell's, & Greene's brigades in the first line, making about 5,000 men, — the right com^d by M. Gen^l Greene, the left by the Marquiss; Titcomb's & Lovell's brigades in the second line; & West's as a reserve in the 3^d; the artillery was dispos'd between each brigade of the first & second

* John Trumbull, the painter, served as a volunteer aid to General Sullivan in the expedition for the recovery of Rhode Island. (See Trumbull's Autobiography. pp. 51-57.) He was born in Lebanon, Conn., June 6, 1756, graduated at Harvard College in 1773, and died in New York, Nov. 10, 1843. His father, Governor Jonathan Trumbull, was born in Lebanon, June 10, 1710, graduated at Harvard College in 1727, and died Aug. 17, 1785. — Eds.

lines, & a reserve of 8 or 10 pieces in rear of the reserve of infantry. In this position, our front presented to the south, we pass'd the first of the day. A little after noon we receiv'd intelligence of a fleet of thirty sail standing for the harbour,—wind at south. We rode down to a hill about four miles from the enemy, whence we plainly discover'd them; the wind dying away, they anchor'd off the harbour. We pass'd the night in anxiety, expecting a body of troops to be landed, as it was impossible for the French to go down to prevent it.

Monday morn, the wind came to the northward, and the fleet weigh'd and stood out to the English, who instantly made all the sail they could to avoid them. We saw the chace till sunsett, just before which we saw a firing commence; since which we see or hear nothing from them. The storm has been furious & incessant since Tuesday to this hour, and we have yet no prospect of fair weather.

Our situation is truly miserable, not tents for half our troops, and no other covering whatever. The people are universally wet, and their arms and ammunition in very bad order. We are lying in the position we first took, save this difference, that two regim^{ts} now form a flank division on our left, and the Connecticut troops, of whom there are about 700, the same on our right.

The first clear morning we shall devote to putting our arms & ammunition in good order, and then move on immediately. We shall probably encamp about 2 miles from the enemy's lines, on the east of the east road, our left toward Sichawert Beach, and erect batteries in our front, about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from the enemy. We are double the enemy in number, in good spirits, while they are dispirited & disunited.

When we shall see the fleet again I know not, but expect to have the siege carried on without their assist-

ance. Gen^l Hancock now commands our second line. There are a number of volunteers from Boston and N. Hampshire.

Till some better weather, shall have nothing to add, as nothing can be undertaken till then.

I am, hon^d Sir, with sincerest duty to you and my mother, & love to the family, your son,

J. TRUMBULL.

His Excell^{ty} Gov^r Trumbull.

SAMUEL SEWALL TO JOSEPH BELKNAP.

M^r Joseph Belknap, Dover.

CAMBRIDGE, Sept^r 28th, 1778.

DEAR & HONORED SIR, — I last week heard of the unhappy accident which, I am told, has in a great measure deprived you of the use of your hand. I easily conceive the greatness of such a misfortune to a man of your busy temper & careful activity, as well as the pain which I suppose attends it. I cannot but lament with you, & with your whole worthy family, on this considerable interruption to your usefulness. Indeed, I consider myself as one of them, bound to you by the ties of gratitude for many services & kind attentions paid me during my residence with you.

When the comforts & blessings of this life fail with us, we are more earnestly engaged by the promises of a careful & all-seeing Providence & the faith of a future state of uninterrupted happiness. I, who am but a youth in life & much more of one in religion, can say but little to a man who from his youth to a considerable age has devoted a great part of his life to the duties of religion, & who has made such a proficiency in his knowledge of & reliance on the truths of the Gospel. I have no doubt that in this misfortune you find great consolation from those doctrines & promises, for you know them &

have long practised the use of them. May you in every hour of your future life find yourself possessed with the patience & fortitude which our religion teaches under every misfortune, and have the hours of present pain & affliction brightened to your view by the hopes of a blessed hereafter.

You have one consolation which every father at your time of life has not: you have children, who from principle as well as from the feelings of natural affection will afford every assistance & cheering comfort to you which you can need or they can supply, and they will do it cheerfully & gratefully. I am a thankful witness of the goodness of their hearts, of a benevolence of mind which can never fail to be a source of kindness & relief to their father & family. Your excellent partner, too, she who has been a mother to me, she can yet be serviceable about you, & will ever, I hope, be able to cheer you with her aimiable & pleasing conversation. Methinks I see you both passing thro' the vale of life possessed of that comfortable subsistence which I presume you have sufficient for, & having, in addition to that, all the superior conveniences which your right arm once supplied, supplied now by the care & attention of your grateful & aimiable children in return for all the cares of such excellent parents.

You will receive this as coming from that grateful affection which I bear you & your family. Perhaps in this way I may give you some pleasure: I shall be happy to administer the smallest.

We have no news here, or I would write you some.

Be pleased to present my respects to your lady & family, & beleive me, with much respect,

Your obliged & very humble servant,

S. S.

I write in a hurry, which must excuse the blots & errors.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

BOSTON, October 5th, 1778.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — It has been matter of regret to me that so few letters have passed between us these months back, and I am particularly affected with surprise and sorrow about the packet M^r Clarke sent to Portsmouth. You will be so kind as to inform M^r Adams of Durham that there was a letter for him enclosed in it.

Your late epistle came to my hands when I was indulging my grief for the loss of my dear and venerable father, whose death you so earnestly wished might not be near, but who was called to associate with the Father of Spirits a few days before. Our friend M^r E. has written a very just account of his last sickness, and all I can add to his relation will be those minute circumstances which are due to the enquiries of a friend, and to which my situation enabled me to give a most particular attention. Tho' the recollection of the last scene of his life fills me with the most melancholy ideas, and every fibre of my bosom is in agitation, yet I must say that there is a pleasure mingled with my affliction, and I never oppose its coming fresh upon my mind. His death was fully adequate to the expectations which could be formed by the most partial of his friends who beheld his deportment and those amiable virtues which were ever exhibited in his character. He died, as he lived, a Christian. To this his ambition led him, to this height he arrived, and from this height he took his flight to the regions of bliss and glory, as if ardently desiring to receive his reward.

Soon after he was taken ill, he deliberated against a recovery from the disease. He was sensible before this sickness that there was something singular in the state of his bowels from his being subject to faint turns, which always succeeded a laxness. Upon this I am of opinion

that he laid much stress, and that he foresee consequences which were unknown to his friends. Above a week before he died, he told me that he never [should] go out of his chamber. I did not think his case desperate till Thursday preceeding his exit. In his whole sickness he seemed lost to this world and preparing for his departure. When Mr Stillman visited him, which I think was on Friday, he told him "he was then rejoicing in the sight of God's countenance. The doctrines," says he, "which I have preached to others are now my consolation. With much imperfection I have preached Jesus Christ and Him crucified; and in His name I now triumph over Death." When the physicians told him that they were destitute of hope, and that he had not long to live, his answer was, the sooner the better, "I have finished my course with joy." Saturday night, he told me he should begin an everlasting Sabbath the next morning, and with great affection wished me a good night. About 5 o'clock, I was called up and went to his bedside. The doctor told him he was dying. He told him that he was sensible that he had done the best to save him, and returned thanks for his kindness. He asked me who was to preach in his pulpit, and desired me to tell him to acquaint the people that in his dying moments he was enjoying the comfort of that religion and those principles which he had ever preached to them. Just after this he was in much distress at his stomach, & cried out, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly, lest I fail of that faith and patience by which I expect to inherit the promises." Then turning to me, he said, "It is a question with me whether I o't to wish to die, or to wait quietly till it is the will of my Father to call me hence. His will be done." Not a minute after this elapsed before he breathed his last. I will not dip my pen to describe the moving, the striking, the solemn scene which succeeded. It was the most gloomy day I ever knew. Mr Thatcher of Malden preached at our meeting. He displayed him-

self to admiration. His sermons and prayers were so well adapted to the occasion, that there was not an unfeeling heart in the very large assembly which were gathered together. Had there been an unweeping eye, the bosom of such a person must have been steeled with adamant, and it would have been demonstration to me that he possessed only the shape of humanity. There are two sources of consolation which are refreshing to us in this day of trouble and in this affliction which is brought upon us, — the felicity to which he is admitted and the illustration which was afforded in his last moments of the truth, the excellency, & the unspeakable advantages of our holy religion. We cannot doubt but that he is wafted from this valley of tears to the fruition of eternal blessedness. And we need only behold such calmness, such fortitude, and such joy as were centered in his breast, and we shall be persuaded that religion is a reality, and that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is infinitely more than a cunningly devised fable. Indeed, the greatest fortitude has been shewn by some who we would not assert were true Christians; but this is the most we can say: They have not a fear of death. True; but they have not likewise that inward peace and satisfaction which accompanies a belief on Him who came into the world to deliver us from death, and who is justly styled the Resurrection and the Life. They are unacquainted with those positive joys, those ravishing pleasures, which transport the soul at the prospect of a glorious immortality. These are only allowed to the Christian. And when they are exhibited in the life or death of a person, it is a sure evidence that he is arrived to that happy state, and it clearly evinces the worth and excellence of Christianity, and that its rewards are such as are promised in the Gospel.

You will doubtless enquire after my mamma and the rest of the family. We are all well, and my mother much calmer than I should have expected under her circum-

stances, and with a frame so sensible and a breast so susceptible of tender emotions. As far as sympathy will alleviate the anxiety and distress of the human bosom, so much of our affliction is detracted from us. Thousands of hearts feel for us. Floods of tears have descended from the eyes of the compassionate and humane, and many mourn his loss and weep for themselves, who are deprived of a guide, a pastor, and a friend.

Every mark of respect has been shewn to his memory, except the customary of tribute of some nearest friend, who, according to expectation, would delineate his character and particularise his virtues for the inspection and benefit of the world. Why this has not been done, you have the hint from Mr Eliot.*

I am able to say no more at present. My brother Andrew is in town, and desires to be remembered. My sister Sally will be married to night.† I expect it will

* In the Supplement to the Boston Gazette of Sept. 28, 1778, is the following article:—

"A Correspondent expresses his Grief and Astonishment, that the immemorial Custom of embalming the Memories of those illustrious Persons who have been the Ornaments and Blessings of the Community should for the first Time be violated in the Neglect shewn to the Character of that great and good Man, the Rev. Dr. ELIOT;—that those whose Lives have been a direct Contradiction to the Encomiums pass'd on them at their Decease should be held up to the World as Patterns of every Virtue, while so striking, so amiable an Example of Piety, Purity, and Charity should pass off the Stage of Action entirely unnoticed.

"It was, says he, justly expected of those who have been with him from his Youth, and in the same sacred Employment, whose Station and Connections must have given them special Opportunities for observing the uniform Tenor of his valuable Life, and who were Witnesses of its triumphant Period, and the ample Testimony thence resulting to the Truth the Efficacy, and the Joys of Religion that they would have favoured us with the pleasing and instructive Story of his progressive Improvements in Knowledge and in Virtue—the Sincerity and Fervor of his Devotion—his Integrity of Heart and Simplicity of Manners—his Benevolence, Candor, and Condescension—his penetrating Genius and Precision of Thought—his extensive Erudition—his Fortitude and Prudence under peculiar Trials—his Assiduity in the Duties of a Christian Minister—the serious and affecting Matter of his public Addresses—the Fullness, Perspicuity, Elegance, and Purity of his Compositions—his pathetic and attractive Elocution, and Command of an Audience—his Patronage of Learning—his Sympathy with the Distress'd, and Beneficence on every Occasion—his Love of Liberty and his Country—his domestic Virtues—In short, that Cluster of Accomplishments which rendered him the Soul & Spirit of Society both Civil and Religious, and the Delight of all his Connections—that they would have call'd upon us on this affecting Occasion, in the expressive language of Inspiration to mark the perfect Man, and to behold the Upright, since the End of that Man was Peace—BUT THEY HAVE NOT!"—EDS.

† The Boston Gazette of Oct. 12, 1778, records the marriage as follows:—"On Monday evening last, Mr. JOSEPH SQUIRE of Fairfield, in Connecticut, to Miss SALLY ELIOT,

be overmuch affecting. Her father, — Mr Lathrop must stand in his place. This worthy gentleman buried his wife the last week,* and is the fittest person to join in our company.

I want much to come to Dover. Do let us be more intimate in our correspondence. I am sorry for the loss of Mr Allen, and for your unhappy situation. Love to Ruthy and the children.

Adieu.

Your affectionate friend,

JOHN ELIOT.

J. BRACKETT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.†

The Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Dover.

PORTSM^o, December 21, 1778.

DEAR SIR, — I received your letter in which you mention several circumstances which makes it eligible and necessary for you to publish your History of the State of New Hampshire sooner than you intended when I saw you last. The difficulties attending the publication at this time, I acknowledge, are many & so great thro' the fluctuating state of our paper currency & the scarcity of paper, that I hardly think it possible to be done by subscription, or that any particular number of gentleman would purchase the copy, as you mention, tho' I am ex-

Daughter of that great and excellent Man, the Reverend ANDREW ELIOT, D.D., late Pastor of the New-North Church, in this Town." — Eds.

* Her death is announced in the Supplement to the Boston Gazette of Sept. 28, 1778 : — "Thursday evening last departed this life Mrs. MARY LATHROP, the amiable consort of the Rev. John Lathrop of this Town. Her friends and acquaintance are desired to attend her funeral, at 4 o'clock this afternoon." Mr. Lathrop was ordained minister of the Old North Church in 1768. In 1779, on the union of that society with the congregation worshipping in the New Brick, he became minister of the united societies, which assumed the name of the Second Church. (See Robbins's History of the Second Church.) — Eds.

† Joshua Brackett, M. D., was born in Greenland, N. H., May 5, 1733, graduated at Harvard College in 1752, and prepared himself for the ministry in accordance with the wishes of his parents, but afterward relinquished that profession for the more congenial study of medicine. He settled in Portsmouth, where he became an eminent physician and a public spirited citizen, and died there July 17, 1802. (See Adams's Annals of Portsmouth, pp. 321-324.) — Eds.

treemly desierous to have it printed, and should be glad to have you not only incouraged in the work, but fully compensated for your labour. I have thought of one scheme which appears to me to be the best, & which I have proposed to Mr Martin, viz. to make application to the General Court to grant you a sum of money to enable you to publish it, and that you should have the whole advantage arising from the sale of the books after they are printed. If the sum the Court should grant should be insufficient, then I would endeavour to procure by private subscription as much as might enable you to do it. I have waited on Mr King, Mess^{rs} John & Woodb^y Langdon & Gains, who are members of the Court for this town, and proposed to them the scheme. They all approve of it, and think the Court will make the grant without any difficulty. They are desierous of having it published, and have promised me their influence & exertions in the Court to obtain the grant; but before they can make the proposal to the House they must know what sum will be sufficient. I am not able to informe them; therefore should be glad you would think of the matter, and informe me (this week, if possible) what sum would be sufficient to make you some compensation & enable you to do it.

I am, Sir, your sincere friend & obed^t, hble. serv^t,

J. BRACKETT.

Mr J. Belknap.

MESHECH WEARE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

EXETER, Jan^y 15, 1779.

REV^d SIR, — I receivd your favor of the 4th instant. Am very glad you are prevaild on to continue your his-

* Meshech Weare was born in Hampton, N. H., June 16, 1713, and graduated at Harvard College in 1735. He filled successively various positions of public trust, and in 1776 was chosen President of New Hampshire, to which office he was annually re-elected until the formation of the new Constitution in 1784, when he was again elected to the highest office in the gift of the people; but his growing infirmities compelled him to resign it before the end of the year. He died Jan. 14, 1786. — Eds.

torical account of this government to a later period than that to which you have already bro't it. So laudable an undertakeing deserves the assistance of every one. If I can any way contribute to your being furnis'd with materials, it will give me much pleasure. I mentiond to the Committee of Safety your request to take into your custody such books and files, for a time, as may be necessary for the purpose, who have consented thereto. It will be proper when you take any to leave a memorandum of what you take, that it may be known where they are if they should be wanted. If I happen to be at Exeter when you come there, shall gladly wait on you. I wish you success in this, as well as your more important affairs; and am with much esteem and respect,

Y^r ob^t hum^{le} ser^t,

MESHECH WEARE.

Rev^d M^r Belknap.

J. BRACKETT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Dover.

PORTSMOUTH, March 10th, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — Since I received yours ♀ Col^o Baker, have applied to our Representatives for Portsmouth & the State's Attorney, M^r Livermore. They all continue to approve of the measure, and promise their influence & exertions in the General Court some time in this sessions; and I have great expectation of their being able to procure the proposed grant.

I saw in the Exeter paper an advertisement of books belonging to the estate of the late G——r Wentworth, to be sold at auction. I have one among them (Tissott on Health). My name, I think, is wrote in it, and I lent it him for his use while at Wentworth House. By claiming it for me the day before the sale, you'll greatly oblige your friend & hble. serv^t,

J. BRACKETT.

Rev^d M^r Belknap.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Reverend M^r Belknap, Dover.

BOSTON, March 17, 1779.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — I am much obliged to your kindness for the receipt of two letters since I was favored with an opportunity of writing to you. Believe me when I say that you grieve me by hinting a suspicion that I am in the least indifferent about maintaining our correspondence. There is nothing affords me more satisfaction and pleasure than my *letterary intercourse*; and I have no friend nearer to me than yourself. If I am faulty in any point, it is want of care in securing a conveyance of my epistles. This indolent disposition has led me into many scrapes, and is manifested in a variety of ways. I find, however, that I have written several times & the letters have miscarried.

I rejoice to have an opportunity to send by M^r Allen, who is a gentleman I am always pleased with seeing, & whom I highly esteem. He is a person whose merit the world will be ever ready to acknowledge; but who is not in himself calculated to demand the reward & applause which is adequate to his worth. He will walk well the little round of domestic life, & be esteemed by the wise & good, but will never be conspicuous in the bustle of y^e great theatre.

I am exceeding sorry your situation is like to be so disagreeable to you, & heartily wish some prospect may open which will unfold a more pleasing scene. We all meet with our troubles. They sometimes visibly conduce to our advantage. We have reason to regard the severities of Providence among the pledges of His favor. Religion issues many streams of consolation amidst the vicissitudes, the cares & disappointments, of human life, as well as the chagrin occasioned by the evils of the

present state which on all sides surround us. I doubt not, Sir, you experience these pleasures amidst the multitude of thoughts that are within you.

My own situation at present is very critical & ineligible. Last week I left Salem after preaching there 2 months for M^r Dunbar, who is in a very ill state of health. The New North Society agreed to confine themselves to me, & to invite me to preach 8 weeks. The meeting was large, only 6 dissentients. Should the Society invite me to settle at the end of this time, I am persuaded the opposition will be much larger, and that they will continue at the meeting a factious crew, & strive to render my life unhappy. Master Leach declares this openly; tho' he at the same time says that he likes my preaching, & would use his influence to settle me if Deacon Barrett was not so officious in my behalf, but he is determined to be in opposition to him. I anticipate nothing, am easy about the affair, & will from time to time acquaint you with my condition. Your advice will be gratefully received.

Your brother Sam has been very poorly this week back. The times greatly prey upon his spirits. He seems to be better this afternoon, & the doctor thinks a ride or two will recruit him.

Our own house is verily the house of mourning. My mother grows more & more melancholy, & may well be said to refuse to be comforted. She is persuaded that it is her [duty to] keep my father's image in her mind, and there it [will] remain to the next meeting, which will be in a place [where] there will be no more sorrow or crying.

'Tis said that the States of Holland have desired an alliance with the States of America; that Colonel Campbell is Burgoined in Georgia; that Spain has offered a loan of 25 millions of dollars, &c., &c. *Credat Judæus Apella.*

The miseries of famine are now mingled with y^e horrors of war. The poor people in the almshouse have

been destitute of grain & other necessities these many days. Many reputable families are almost starving. Good Lord, deliver us.

My mother desires her love to you & yours.

Your affectionate friend and humble servant,

J. ELIOT.

ANTHONY WIBIRD TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

*The Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Dover. To the care of John Penhallow, Esq.,
Portsmouth.*

BRAINTREE, 14 April, 1779.

S^r, — Yours of y^e 15th of Feb^y I receiv'd last week. I am much pleas'd with your undertaking to write an History of New Hampshire, & shou'd be ready to afford you any assistance in procuring materials to forward & perfect y^r design. I wish to see a particular history of each State. In a separte history of each, things might be related more minutely & circumstantially than wou'd be proper for a general history of y^m all; and tho' minuteness wou'd probably be disgusting to some readers, yet to y^e natives of each State, & to those especially whose ancestors were immediately concerned in its public transactions, it wou'd be pleasing & interesting. Such histories wou'd lay a good foundation for some future compiler in writing a general history of y^e country. There is no people, I believe, whose history admits of being written with greater certainty than our own. A diligent compiler by consulting narratives & memorials y^t have been published, public records & private papers to w^h he might have access, wou'd be able to give a very full & clear acc^t of y^e most memorable occurrences & important trans-

* Rev. Anthony Wibird, minister of the First Church in Quincy, was born in Portsmouth, N. H., Feb. 14, 1728-9, graduated at Harvard College in 1747, and died in Quincy June 4, 1800. He was never married. — Eps.

actions w^h have taken place from y^e first settlement of y^e country to y^e present time. If former transactions are too inconsiderable for y^e notice of foreigners, those of y^e present day will be tho't deserving of their attention & afford them an high entertainment.

Madam Belcher has been dead some months, but I waited upon M^{rs} Belcher & acquainted her with y^r design & request. She told me y^e letters were brought to Milton, but with many other papers destroyed when they had y^e misfortune, two or three years ago, to lose their house by fire; so y^t you can expect no information from y^t quarter.

I wish you success in y^r undertaking, & y^t when y^r work is publish'd it may meet with y^e acceptance of y^e public.

I am very sorry to hear y^r friend, Capⁿ Waldron, is in so ill a state of health. Please to give my service to him.

From y^r friend & humble serv^t,

ANTH. WIBIRD.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Reverend M^r Belknap, Dover. Favored by Rev^d M^r Buckminster.

BOSTON, June 28, [1779].

REV^d SIR, — I must beg pardon for omitting writing so long, but can offer as an excuse that I have scarcely been at Boston two days together since I left you at Dover. I was much disappointed when I found that M^r T. had supplied his pulpit & gone his journey. I heard at Portsmouth that he had set off, but my brother told me that he expected me there that Sunday. He had told him before I was to come, and I concluded that he had depended upon my supplying his desk.

Three of us that were chosen to preach upon probation at the New North refused. They have been destitute these

two Sabbaths, & the house would have been shut up had not persons accidentally fell in. M^r Buckminster preached yesterday; was very much liked. He will take this letter; but I can have time to say nothing about many things I should be glad to write upon. I am well. My mother has been very ill, but is now in good health. Your brother Sam remains *in statu quo*. I rejoice in your happiness, which must be increased by Ruthy's being safe abed.* My love to her; wish her patience necessary on the occasion. I, among the others who hold the memory of my father dear, esteem it a particular mark of esteem & affection that you should fix upon the name of our deceased friend. My mother is peculiarly gratified.

I am to preach next Lord's day at my father's, meerly to oblige my friends, who were much grieved at my neglecting them.

The Old South have voted to admit no children to baptism but those whose parent[s] are in full communion. Many principal members are in opposition, — Deacon Jeffres, M^r Chushing, &c. The young people will go off in great numbers. Young Sam Whitwell has joined M^r Clarke.

Twenty & above of the most respectable families in our congregation have spoken for pews at the Old Brick. Should I not settle at the New North, many will go to Dr Cooper's; some to M^r Howard's. How shall I behave in this situation? May I have that wisdom w^{ch} is profitable to direct!

Paper money is at a stand. Some things have fell, it is said. M^r Sam^l Adams is in town; says the Congress have received no official intelligence from Gen^l Moultrie; supposes the British army are defeated, and the General waited for the surrender before he sent his account of affairs.

* Mr. Belknap's fourth son, Andrew Eliot, was born in Dover, June 4, 1779, and died in Boston, Jan. 25, 1858. — Eds.

I will send you President Langdon's sermon on Dr Winthrop. It is better than I thought him capable of writing. I have it not now.

Adieu till the next opportunity.

Your affectionate friend & humble servant,

JOHN ELIOT.

D. MACCLURE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremiah Belknap, Dover.

NORTH HAMPTON, July 9th, 1779.

REV^p SIR, — I am desired to inform that the preparations for printing your sermon are in forwardness. Mr Fowle has undertaken to print it in Portsm^o. There are about one hundred subscribed for in this place. Subscriptions must circulate in neighbouring towns. Setting the press for 100 will turn out 6/ 3^d p^t exclusive of paper; 200, 4/; 300, 3/; what the expense of paper will be I have not heard.

You will please to forward the copy to the printer as soon as convenient. They determine to go thro' with it should no more subscribers offer. I shall request some of the ministers to promote it among their people. Will you please to give my service to Col^o Baker, & that I shall be obliged to him to promote a subscription in Dover. When closed it may be forwarded to Mr Fowle, that the number to be struck off may be seasonably known. And may the divine blessing accompany it into the world.

With suitable respects, I am, rev^d Sir,

Your friend & very hble. serv^t,

D. MACCLURE.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

*Rev^d Mr Jeremiah Belknap, Dover. To the Care of Mr Richard
Champney, Portsmouth.*

Boston, July 31, [1779].

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — Your very agreeable letter had laid in the Post Office some days before it came to my hand, and after it was taken up I was obliged to go out of town, which is the reason you did not e'er this receive an answer.

The affairs of our church remain *in statu quo*. I suppose that they will give me a call after Mr Greenough's course of preaching is finished. It will not be without opposition. I wish for that wisdom which is profitable to direct. In my present view of the matter I cannot think it my duty to unite myself to them except they are more united in me.

The New South wait for the determination of the New North; there would also be a dissent. My good friend Mr Adams is now at home, & he loves me as the Devil doth righteousness.* He declares to my friends that he knows of no young gentleman so pleasing to him, and there he concludes. I suppose, and am assured, that they would have invited me to settle if I had given encouragement, or said that I preferred them to my father's people. This I never would do. I make no promises before I'm asked, and it is fresh in my mind that they have abused Mr Clarke, or he acted a most unjustifiable part in telling them that he would leave Dr Chauncy if they would give him an invitation to settle upon the same terms. For mine own part I believe there was fault on both sides.†

* Samuel Adams, one of the Delegates in Congress, had leave of absence granted to him, June 9, 1779, and returned to Boston, where he remained nearly a year. (See Journals of Congress, vol. v. p. 251; Wells's Life of Samuel Adams, vol. iii. p. 68.) — Eds.

† Rev. John Clarke was born in Portsmouth, N. H., April 13, 1755, graduated at Harvard College in 1774, was ordained over the First Church in Boston, as colleague with

The Old South Society have desired M^r Eccly to give his answer to their call which was given him some months since. I understand it is to be read tomorrow, and in the affirmative.* The church have voted that none but communicants shall have the priviledge of baptism for their children. It was carried with a bare majority. Deacon Jeffries, M^r Cushing, & I believe your kinsman, were violent against it. M^r Cushing & others will leave the meeting. Young Whitwell has done it, & most of the young people will follow his example. I think that Brother Eccly has a most miserable prospect before him, & that, should he live a few years, according to all expectation he will see the Society broken in pieces. He is a most worthy, sensible little fellow, but has offended the ministers of the town in wholly neglecting them. He has not asked the advice, or been to visit upon the occasion any of the gentlemen of that order.

I am not able to procure D^r Chauncy's manuscript. I had an opportunity of seeing that part of it referring to the unpardonable sin, and have conversed with M^r Clarke upon the subject. The D^r understands the text in the most literal meang. He says THAT sin never shall be forgiven. But this by no means interferes with the final restitution of all things. For what if this sin is not forgiven? Yet the sinner may be admitted to happyness after having suffering, the punishment annexed to the commission of it. The punishment threatned is y^e *second death*. It amounts therefore to this. All that sin against the Holy Ghost shall suffer the penalty of the second death, or in other words shall be cast into the lake, &c. All other sins may be forgiven unto men; that is to say,

Rev. Dr. Chauncy, July 8, 1778, and died April 2, 1798. (See Ellis's History of the First Church, pp. 208-215.) — Eds.

* Rev. Joseph Eckley was born in London, England, Oct. 11, 1750, came to this country at an early age, and graduated at Princeton in 1772. He was ordained over the Old South Church, Oct. 27, 1779, and died April 30, 1811. (See Hill's History of the Old South Church, vol. ii. pp. 190, 201, 356.) — Eds.

if sinners have not arrived to this pitch of wickedness they *may* not suffer the punishment of the other world ; they may receive a full pardon of their sins, but this pardon will not be extended towards those who sin in the sense before mentioned. To them there is no more sacrifice for sin, but a certain fearful looking for of jud[g]ment remains, or fiery indignation, &c., w^{ch} is the second death. Mr C. illustrates the matter thus : Suppose a human legislature should annex certain punishments to crimes, but allow for the medium of a pardon to all but one, which was of such a nature that it would weaken the authority of governmt. to pass it by upon any occasion, we should make use of this language, that such a person, one who has been guilty of this crime, could not be forgiven. Yet he doth not follow that because he suffered the punishment denounced in this instance, that he may not afterwards become a good member of society. What think you of all this ? I confess that it appears rational to me, and I am led to think that the difficulties w^{ch} occur about this text of Scripture are owing to our mistaken ideas concerning the word forgiveness, or to some conceptions equally vague about the punishment of the other world. I have many difficulties in mine own mind about futurity, and am not sorry because they excite attention, and the more I study, the more I admire the Xian dispensation. I will mention them occasionally in the course of our correspondence. Thus much I am persuaded off. It will not do to publish it at once, if proper to expose it at all. It is too sublime for the soaring of vulgar imaginations, & would dazzle, if not blind, the eyes of the populace. It would be like the rays of the noonday sun to persons who had never before seen the light. Our Saviour said to his followers : “I have many things to tell you, but ye cannot bear them now.” And this Dr C. quotes to excuse his own conduct in concealing his sentiments from the people und^r his charge, as well as the world in general.

I am ready to think more ministers are of this opinion than has hitherto been imagined. The doctrine must be pleasing to the Calvinists, because it exalts the character of the Mediator. The Arminians cannot but relish it, as it favors their plan of liberality. Thus, as it suits persons of different sentiments in other matters, & falls in with the various sects of the Church, it bids fair to prevail. *Magna est veritas.*

You will mention with the greatest freedom where I have not been clear about the unpardonable sin. I am persuaded that, if you meet with anything unintelligible, it must be imputed to my expression, and not to the ideas of the author.

The speculation you enclosed in your letter I put in Drapers & Folsom's paper.* It did not come soon eno' to be in Gill's. It was curious to hear the observations of people upon it, but it was more curious still to be attacked in the manner I was soon after the publication. It is impossible anything should go thro' our presses without the publisher appeared to correct the errors of the printers, and indeed I could not have procured a place in the paper had I not put it in as mine own. I never expected after this to be suspected as the author. But to my great surprise a letter written by Mr Hazard reached me complaining greatly of my ungentlemanlike treatment of him in making use of his name upon such an occasion,

* The article referred to appeared as a communication in the Independent Ledger of July 26, 1779. It was a political fable about a "speckled hen" and "an egg of an uncommon kind" which she had laid, suggested by the attempt, in 1779, to form a Constitution for New Hampshire; and in a postscript the writer says: "Perhaps the ingenious Mr. Hazard may be glad of this egg to hang up among other curiosities in this collection as a *Lusus Naturæ*, or an American absurdity." In the Ledger of August 2 appeared the following disclaimer: "Messrs. Printers, — The Publisher of the account of a late extraordinary production at Pennycook, which was printed in your last paper, is sorry to find that the design of that publication has been misunderstood, and that some have supposed a reflection upon Mr. Hazard was intended, as he had taken the liberty to mention that gentleman's name. He therefore thus publicly declares that he had no such intention, nor doth he believe that Mr. Hazard had any interest in or connection with the *political* transaction attended to therein." See also the Correspondence between Hazard and Belknap in 5 Mass. Hist. Col., vol. ii. pp. 8-15. — Eds.

demanding an explanation in public and wondering at my conduct. It seems, as he afterwards told me, that he supposed there had been some intrigue of a British officer to w^{ch} he was accused as be'g accessary, & feared a reflection upon his moral character. He had therefore insisted upon knowing the author from the printer. I dined with him yesterday, & we talked over the matter to our mutual satisfaction, and I am somewhat happy at what has taken place, since it has bro't me to the acquaintance & encreasing intimacy of a gentleman h[igh] in my esteem. He knows you to be the author of the piece, & laughed at [his own] misapprehension of y^e thing. I want to mention some anecdotes from him, as well as to write particularly about some historical matters, w^{ch} wld. answer your enquiries, but I must wave them at present. I fear about my length. Suffice it to say, I shall do all in my power to forward the plan you propose, & expect to be at Dover with M^r Hazard by the first of September. It may be sooner or later.

You have doubtless heard of the burning of Fairfield. My brother has lost his all, his furniture, books, &c. My sister Sally has met with the same or almost an equal loss. My brother's letter was printed in White & Adams' paper.* I would send you one had I a private opportunity, as likewise M^r Sewall's oration, &c., &c.

I wish you had a maintenance from your people more

* Fairfield, Conn., was burned by a British expedition under Generals Tryon and Garth, July 7, 1779. The letter by Rev. Andrew Eliot which is referred to in the text was printed in the Boston Evening Post for July 24, 1779. In it he says: "General Tryon was in various parts of the town plot,—the good women begging and intreating him to spare their houses. Mr. Sayre, the Church of England's missionary, a gentleman firmly and zealously engaged in the British interest, and who has suffered considerably in their cause, joined the women in their intreaties, begged the General to spare the town, but his request was denied. He then begged that a few houses might be kept as a shelter for some who could provide habitations nowhere else. This was likewise denied him. At length Mr. Tryon consented to save buildings and property of Mr. Burr and the writer of this epistle. They had both been plundered e'er this. He likewise said that the houses for public worship should be spared. He was far from being in a good temper of mind during the whole affair.—General Garth, at the other end of the town, treated the inhabitants with as much humanity as his errand would admit of."—EDS.

adequate, both for the advantage of the public & yourself. I am sorry & extremely grieved at w^t you say about your salary, & wish I could contribute any advice worth acceptance. I commend your resolution not to be a hewer of wood or drawer of water.

[No signature.]

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Rev^d M^r Belknap, Dover, New Hampshire. Favored by M^r Hazard.

Boston, September 11, [1779].

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — I cannot but think you was much surprised at the conclusion of my last letter, which abruptness, tho' somewhat characteristic of your friend, was owing to peculiar accident at the time. I left off when I did in order to send you an accurate account of some things as answers to your enquiries. Before I could see M^r Eliot or gain an opportunity of conversing with him, I took a ride meerly to spend y^e afternoon in a neighboring town, & was confined there several days by a wound received from the hand of a young lady, who amidst other wanton tricks was the means of sp[r]aining my knee, and came near breaking the *pan*. It was near post-day & I was obliged to improve an opportunity by a gentleman just setting off for Boston to send what was written. I hope you received it, unfinished as it was. I am afraid M^r Hazard should know this, lest he should suspect me of having some communication with another speckled hen, to which he may claim acquaintance, and insist upon being introduced to her as a person of another breed, and more able to cope with her. In other words, (for fear you may have some ideas you ought not to have, & think I have been bestriding some hobby horse beyond my bearing,) and, to be delicate, he may be ambitious of paying his respects, and this may put you upon another

examination about eggs, hatched chickens, and the like. *Sed non quoad hoc*, or to the point.

I asked Mr E. about Governor Usher's papers. He says Deacon Jeffries told him it was a matter that could not be determined. He knew of none, and it would take him months to look over the rubbish where they must be if in existence. He begs to be a sharer of your Syberian wheat. If you will save a quart till I come your way, I will strive to obtain a place for it in my portmanteau.

It is a very severe disappointment to me that I am not able to set out with Mr H——d. That gentleman has such a great share of my esteem and love that I am in a manner under obligation to you for your speculation which brought me into his company. Where good sense is tempered with humour, and an amiable disposition united to fine abilities, I am never weary of cultivating an intimacy and strengthening the ties of friendship. I had promised myself much pleasure in the ride to Dover, and cannot settle the account to mine own satisfaction without spending a day at your house before Mr Hazard's departure; and I would be ready to engage to be there by the latter end of next week, if I did not suspect you would so far depend upon it as to indulge yourself with the thoughts of setting still the succeeding Sabbath. I believe, however, that I shall fulfill my engagement made with you last spring, if not the day expected, very likely the Sunday after.

The reason of my delaying the journey is, a meeting of the proprietors of our church requires my attendance. They are to offer me the terms of settlement. I must see or hear from you before I give my answer. You will doubtless advise me about the contract, afford your assistance in qualifying me for the ministerial office, as well as remember me in your prayers, that I may derive from the Fountain of light & knowledge that wisdom w^{ch} is profitable to direct, and those gifts & graces which I surely

need. The division in the church was thus much in my favor, six for M^r Greenough,* 7 for M^r Allen,† 32 for me. A number who commune at the table were deprived of the privilege of voting, because they have not been dismissed from other churches, who were unanimously in my interest. Of the congregation 89 were present, and 85 voted for your friend, 4 against him. This subject we shall talk over. I could wish to have settled where I should have received an invitation had not my connection here prevented me. *Sed sic visum est superis*, and I desire to submit to the will of Heaven, however present appearances may thwart my wishes, or be in opposition to mine own opinion.

How did you digest the explanation concerning the sin against the Holy Ghost? I wish to say something more about that controversy, but must hasten to finish this letter, w^{ch} has kept me longer in town than I o't to be, — it being Saturday, no body engaged to administer the communion tomorrow, and my purpose to ride 20 miles, if no gentleman nearer can be had, of which I see not the least probability.

M^r H——d will acquaint you with every thing of a political nature. The family are all well, send love, &c. My respects to all our worthy friends at Dover. Kiss little Andrew for me, a dozen times over for his name's sake above the rest which are demanded for a son of such worthy persons.

Adieu.

Ever yours,

JOHN ELIOT.

* Rev. William Greenough, born in Boston, June 29, 1756, graduated at Yale College in 1774, settled over the church in Newton in 1781, died Nov. 10, 1831. — Eds.

† Rev. Jonathan Allen, born in Braintree, Feb. 16, 1749, graduated at Harvard College in 1774, ordained as minister of the West Parish, Bradford, Mass., in 1781, died there March 6, 1827. (See Hurd's History of Essex County, Mass., vol. ii. pp. 2095, 2096; Kingsbury's Memorial History of Bradford, pp. 106–116.) — Eds.

WILLIAM GORDON TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

The Rev^d M^r. Belknap, Dover. By the ingenious M^r Hazard.

J. PLAIN, Sep^r. 13, 1779.

BRO. BELKNAP, — These parsons are strange fellows; they will neither admit of British nor American tyranny. If constitutions are attempted to be palmed upon the people which are unfavorable to liberty, one of these black coats makes his assault in open day, & demolishes the labours of a select convention; another works in the dark, & succeeds by sap. Well, let him take care to keep behind the curtain & not venture to peep, lest we should catch a sight of his phiz & cook both him & his egg till they are quite hard & past feeling. But all this is wandering from the point, for I mean earnestly to request the loan of your MS. History, to be brought by our common friend & carrier, the ingenious M^r Hazard, who will answer for its being safely returned; & so leaving you to have your laugh out, I bid you adieu, & present my respects to your good lady, & say *totidem litteris*.

Your sincere friend & very humble servant,

WILLIAM GORDON.

I leave it with Hazard to give you the history of our present Convention proceedings, which bid fair & yield me comfortable hopes.

* Rev. William Gordon was an Englishman by birth, and came to this country in 1770. In July, 1772, he was ordained as minister of the Third Church in Roxbury (Jamaica Plain). During the Revolution he took an active part in public affairs, and at one time was chaplain to the Provincial Congress. In 1786 he returned to England, and two years later published his "History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States," the work by which he is now best known. He died in Ipswich, England, Oct. 19, 1807. — Eds.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Reverend Mr Belknap, Dover. Honored by Mr Treadwell, who will be so kind as to forward it as soon as may be.

BOSTON, October 20, 1779.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — The short notice received of Mr Treadwell's going & the variety of occupations which at once seize hold of me prevent my writing anything w^{ch} can even look like a letter. At my desire, you are sent for to officiate at my ordination. I beg you to come. Don't bring any delegates, — not above one to be sure. I wish that could be D^r Green. The day after ordination will be Fast, the next Sabbath Communion. I must in some measure depend upon you. Perhaps I can exchange on the Fast. And if you could preach something occasional the Lord's day succeeding, in the morning before communion, somewhat in the liberal way about the [word cut out], I should like it well. Don't fail to come, nor to remember me to all friends at Dover, Ruthy, & the children.

Old Mother Thayer is dead. We are likely to be starved thro'out Boston. Never such a scarcity of provisions. My brother Andrew is in town. We had a collection for him at our church last Sabbath, 1027[£] gathered.

There is a rumour just now that Count D'Estaing is at the Hook. So many reports have there been of the like nature that I am ready to say, *Credat Judeus, &c.*

Yrs. affectionately,

JOHN ELIOT.

VOTES OF THE DOVER PARISH, 1777-1779.*

To the Parish Selectmen of Dover.

March 7, 1777.

GENTⁿ, — It is at all times very disagreeable to me to make complaints; but that confidence which I have in the candor & kindness of the people of this parish encourages me, tho' with extreme reluctance, to desire them to consider the increase of my family & the dearness of some of the necessaries of life, both of which have rendered it impossible for me to live on the salary which both they & myself at first expected would be sufficient.

I am sensibly affected with the sufferings of the country, & am willing to bear even a large share of the public burden; but I trust the parish must be convinced that without some assistance from them I shall be obliged to go deeply into debt, without any prospect of payment, which is a most discouraging circumstance to every body, & especially to one the proper business of whose station has so little connexion with the things of this world, & whose attention ought to be chiefly directed to matters of more importance.

Gentⁿ, it always has been & is now far from my desire to enrich myself or my family at the expence of this people; all I ask for is such a subsistence as shall enable me to maintain with propriety the character of a Gospel minister, one part of which is that he must be "given to hospitality"; and this if done will be as honourable to them as comfortable to me.

* Dr. Belknap not only preserved with great care the originals of all the papers connected with his difficulties with the Dover church, but he also made several transcripts of them, for what purpose is not evident. The votes here printed are thus copied on four sheets of paper stitched together, and indorsed by him, "Parish Votes from 1777 to 1779," and in another place "Parish Matters." The whole copy is in the handwriting of Dr. Belknap; but the signature of the Parish Clerk to the attestation is an autograph. — Eds.

I beg you will make known my mind on this subject to the parish in such manner as you think most proper, & am, Gentⁿ,

Y^r most hble. serv^t,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

NOTICE is hereby given to the parishioners of the First Parish in Dover that an annual meeting of said parishioners is to be holden at their meeting house on Thursday, 27th March current, at 2 a clock afternoon. To choose all parish officers for the year ensuing that may be necessary. Also to hear the request of our Rev^d Pastor about making provision for his more comfortable subsistence in future, as he finds his salary is not sufficient to support his increasing family, & while many necessities of life bear so much higher price than heretofore. His request will be laid before the meeting. All persons concerned are desired to attend at time & place aforesaid.

By order of y^e Wardens.

NATH^l COOPER, *P. Clerk.*

DOVER, March 15, 1777.

At an annual parish meeting holden March 27, 1777, & by adjournment May 26, 1777, & by another adjournment June 9th, & by another adjournment June 10th, 1777.

Voted, that a present be made to our Rev^d Pastor.

Voted, that a present of twenty pounds be delivered to our Rev^d Pastor as soon as may be by the Parish Selectmen of said Parish agreeable to his request laid before the meeting.

To the Wardens of the First Parish in Dover : —

WE, the subscribers, shew that since the necessities & conveniencies of life are disposed of at such enhanced prices from what they were when our Rev^d Pastor was

settled, 'tis plain his salary does by no means answer his out goings. Therefore we desire that a meeting of the parish may be called that the matter may be considered, & something voted for his ample support during the unsteady prices of things, or for the year last past only, as the convened shall think best, & you'll oblige y^r fellow parishioners & humble servants.

DOVER, Dec^r. 31, 1777.

THOMAS SHANNON.

OTIS BAKER.

TIMOTHY WHITE.

W^m WATSON.

NATH^l COOPER.

THO^s WK. WALDRON.

STEPHEN EVANS.

NEHEMIAH KIMBAL.

JAMES YOUNG.

ICHABOD HORN.

At a meeting of the parishioners legally warned & held January 12, 1778.

Voted, that a grant of sixty pounds, Lawful Money, be made to our Rev^d Pastor for his better support this present year, 1777, agreeable to a petition of a number of the parishioners for that purpose.

To the Parish Selectmen in Dover :—

FINDING by experience that the late vote of the parish granting me sixty pounds is insufficient to answer the end in view, disagreeable to many persons, & likely to create difficulties which I would wish to avoid, after returning my thanks to those who promoted that measure for their good intentions therein, I am under a necessity of desiring you to call the parish together again *to consult with me*, & agree upon some method of *helping me out of present difficulties* which may be more generally acceptable & more likely to answer the proposed end ; and also to consider of some way to *prevent the like difficulties for the future*. And I particularly desire that there may be a full meeting.

Y^r humble servant,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

At a meeting of the parishioners held Feb^y 23, 1778.

Voted, that the grant of sixty pounds voted our Rev^d Pastor, Jan. 12, be reconsidered at his request, & the money be collected for the benefit of the Parish.

N. B. The difficulties w^{ch} our Rev^d Pastor labours under (as mentioned in his letter to y^e Selectmen) were under consideration & further deferred till y^e next annual meeting.

At an annual parish meeting, March 26, 1778.

Voted, that Col. John Waldron, Cap^t John Gage, M^r John B^m Hanson, M^r Ephraim Ham, Ensign Andrew Torr, M^r Sam^l Kielle, & M^r Aaron Wingate be a committee to draught a subscription paper in order to know how much each person will give to our Rev^d Pastor *as a consideration for the depreciation of money the year past*, & make report at the adjournment of the meeting.

Evasion 1 N. B. The above vote passed *in lieu of considering of some method of helping our pastor in future.*

MET according to adjournment July 13, 1778.

The committee appointed to collect *something* for our Rev^d Pastor by way of subscription *not appearing to make report*, a motion was made to dissolve the meeting. Accordingly a vote passed to dissolve the same, & the Moderator declared it to be dissolved.

To the Wardens of the First Parish in Dover:—

GENTⁿ, — As it is about the time for making the parish rates, & as the necessities & conveniencies of life are at such exorbitant prices, we wish you before said rates are issued to notify a parish meeting for the purpose of voting a sum sufficient for the honourable & easy support of our Rev^d Pastor *this present year*, with room for the convened, if they think fit, to add something *for the deficiencies of the*

year 1777, & it is hoped that the matter will be considered as worthy the attention of every individual, & no complaint arise on account of any procedure at said meeting $\wedge$ should neglect attending as usual. We think convening of the parishioners by a constable rather preferable to y^e method of notifying at y^e door that all may $\wedge$ opportunity to speak and act freely on y^e matter, which is wished to be the case by Gentⁿ,

Y^r hum. servants,

DOVER, July 15, 1778.

W^m WALDRON.

STEPⁿ EVANS.

NATH^l COOPER.

THO^s W^k. WALDRON.

OTIS BAKER.

NATH^l HAM.

JON^a GAGE.

At a meeting of the parishioners legally warned by a constable, pursuant to a warrant for that purpose, Dover, July 20, 1778.

Voted, that a sum be granted to our Rev^d Pastor for the year 1778, agreeable to a petition for that purpose. Several sums were proposed & put to vote, but not passing to a vote, therefore

Voted, that the former vote for granting a sum to our Rev^d Pastor be reconsidered.

Then the meeting was dissolved by the Moderator.

At an annual parish meeting, March 31, 1779.

On reading a petition from John Gage, Esq., & others for making a grant to our Rev^d Pastor, *Voted*, to choose a committee to wait on our Rev^d Pastor to *consult with him* concerning some method for his support.

Voted, that the Parish Wardens be y^e committee, & make report in *half an hour* to this meeting, at which time this meeting was adjourned.

Met according to adjournment, & y^e committee made report they had waited on M^r Belknap & the time fixed was so short they could not do any thing. Then it was

agreed the meeting should be adjourned to Monday, the 5th day of April, at 12 a clock, & y^e same committee to wait on our Rev^d Pastor again, & make report thereof at the adjournment.

MET according to adjournment Monday, 5 April, 1779.

The committee waited on our Rev^d Pastor & made report of his plan in writing *for his future support*.*

Voted, not to act on M^r Belknap's plan presented
Evasion 2d. by the committee to said meeting at present, but
 to let it lay.

Voted, to make M^r Belknap a *present* of four hundred pounds, to be paid by the Parish Selectmen as soon as may be.

To the Parish in Dover: —

GENTⁿ, — At your last parish meeting you voted me four hundred pounds, which I accepted *as a consideration for the deficiency of my last year's salary*, & it has been paid, about one half in Continental bills & the other half I thought myself bound in justice to take off the rate list from the names of such persons as paid me the *full value* of their last year's taxes.

* Among the Belknap Papers is a rough draft, without date, of a letter embodying "what I desire y^e Selectmen to report to y^e Parish on their adjournment," which is probably the original draft of the "plan in writing" here mentioned. In it Mr. Belknap says: "If it is your desire to fix upon a plan for my support founded in equity I conceive it is very easy to do it, & the plan w^h I have tho't of is this. Every year in the month of December the Parish Selectmen may meet with me, & by mutual consent so much of the principal necessities of life as were equal to one half of my salary for the seven first years of my ministry may be calculated accord^s to the then current prices, & this sum doubled will be equal to what my salary ought to be according to contract. But it will be necessary for you to supply me annually with 20 cords of wood & provide convenient pasturing for 2 cows & a horse, w^{ch} I shall allow you for at y^e stipulated prices." At the end of this rough draft is a memorandum of prices, as follows: "Corn at 3/6 p^r bushl; Wood at 12/ p^r cord; Hay at 30/ p^r ton; Beef at 2½d p^r lb.; Pastur^s at 30/ for a horse & 20/ for a cow." An explanation is added: "The rates to be made in 2 columns; y^e 1st column to be each man's share of £100 & y^e other each man's share of y^e sum y^t sh^l be calculated as an equivalent to it, so y^t those who pay their rates in produce accord^s to y^e old prices may go by y^e former column, & those who pay in money by y^e later. This method of mak^s y^e rates to continue until y^e above mentioned necessary articles shall be reduced to their former prices." — EDS.

A proposal was also made from me by your committee *for settling my salary upon a better foundation than a sinking currency*; but instead of acting upon it, you voted “to let it lay.” It has accordingly laid for six months, & I think it is time that you should take the matter again into consideration, in order that *some reasonable & equitable method* may be agreed upon whereby *I may know* what I am to expect from you for my support, not only for this present year, but *for the future*.

What I have already recieved, or may recieve of any individuals, will be allowed them according to its just value.

JEREMY BELKNAP.

DOVER, Sep. 30, 1779.

AT a parish meeting, Monday 11th October, 1779.

Voted, to choose a committee to consist of seven persons, viz.: Deacon Shadrach Hodgdon, Otis Baker, Esq., John Gage, Esq., John Kielle, Aaron Wingate, Ephraim Ham, & John Wentworth, Esq., to consult with the Rev^d M^r Belknap on the subject of his request taken into consideration at this meeting, & to make report thereof at the adjournment.

Voted, that this meeting be adjourned to Monday, 8th of Nov., 2 a clock, afternoon.

MET according to adjournment. The committee made a verbal report, as M^r Belknap was absent they thought it not proper to do anything till his return, & y^e meeting was adjourned to Monday, 22^d Nov^r, 1779, at 2 a clock, afternoon.

MET according to adjournment.

Voted, to make an addition to M^r Belknap's salary of fourteen hundred pounds *for the present year*. Evasion 3d.

Voted, to impower the Selectmen to hire the above fourteen hundred pounds, & tax it on the next year's rates.

The foregoing copies & minutes of sundry matters transacted in the parish of Dover from March 7, 1777, to November 22, 1779, contained in fourteen pages, are faithfully extracted from y^e Parish Records.

Attest,

BENJ^A PEIRCE, P. C^K.

Form of the Receipt given to the Parish after the Grant of £1400.

Whereas this Parish did on the 22^d of Nov^r last vote me the sum of £1400, in addition to the sum of £100, & whereas sundry persons belonging to this Parish did pay their respective proportions of the said £100 according to the full & just value, in consequence thereof the Parish is hereby discharged of the sum of £515.9, part of the afores^d sum of £1400.

J. B.

MOSES HEMMENWAY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

The Rev^d Mr Belknap, at Dover. Favored by Mr Webster.

YOUR letter, dear Sir, has turned my thoughts to a subject which I confess I have attended to and examined so slightly in the problematical way, that I should be almost loth to give you my thoughts till I had leisure to ripen and digest them better, were it not that I am unwilling to miss of the first opportunity of testifying my readiness for all the offices of friendship that are in my power. I have been informed, indeed, that *such a universal redemption of mankind as shall issue in universal salvation* has been contended for by some, and

* Rev. Moses Hemmenway, D. D., was born in Framingham, Mass., Sept. 15, 1735, and graduated at Harvard College in 1755. In 1759 he was settled over the church in Wells, District of Maine, and he died there April 5, 1811. He was held by his contemporaries in high esteem as a theologian, and was the author of several controversial publications. (See Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. i. pp. 541-547.) — Eds.

has of late especially been favoured by numbers in different parts of this country. But I have had very little opportunity of informing myself in what manner this opinion is stated and explained by its advocates; by what reasons & arguments it is maintained; what answers are given to the many obvious objections to which it seems liable. I have read nothing that has been written in favour of it; have had no conversation upon the subject with any that were of this persuasion, or that appeared to understand the matter well. The contrary doctrine, you know, has been received with so general a consent among us, that, amidst all the doctrinal disputes that have been moved, this seems scarce to have been called in question till lately. If therefore what I may suggest upon the subject should seem trite & vulgar, as I am apt to think it will, to a person of your discernment, who has thought with attention on the subject, you will, I trust, easily account for it and excuse it.

How this scheme which you mention might appear to me if it was fully and fairly represented, with the reasons on which it is grounded, I know not. I must confess that the commonly received doctrine, which supposes that the greater part of mankind will be fixed in a state of never-ceasing, extreme, & total depravity & misery, opens to view such an amazing scene of natural & moral evil as I cannot bear to contemplate with a close & realizing apprehension. Nature shrinks from the prospect with reluctant horror. And such thoughts as these are apt to arise: "Can these things indeed be so? can such vast & extensive evils, running parallel with eternity itself, be the final issue and result of His government in whom infinite power is joined with infinite goodness, whose goodness and mercy are so celebrated in the revelation he has given of himself in his holy oracles, who retaineth not his anger forever, because he delighteth in mercy?" And I hope that I may say, without offending my Maker

or the generation of his people, that if it could be found consistent with the honour of God, the wise, holy, & good ends for which he created & governs the world, that all evil, natural & moral, should be intirely, finally, & forever abolished, and sin, death, & hell be so swallowed up in victory as to be no more, I could not but exceedingly rejoice at it. Yea, further, were I satisfied that such an entire extinction of all evil were possible, so possible as to imply in it no repugnancy to the nature & perfections of God, I could not but strongly hope for it, considering how contrary moral evil is in itself to his holiness, & how agreeable it must be to infinite goodness & mercy that happiness prevail to the highest degree & in the widest extent possible in those who are capable subjects of it. And could any one point out to me in the word of God any good & solid foundation for such a hope, I should think myself bound in duty to God, and from a benevolent regard to my fellow creatures, most gladly & thankfully to embrace it & acquiesce in it.

But I must also confess that it is quite beyond my limited & feeble faculties to determine with clearness & certainty upon such high points as *What is the grand & ultimate end aimed at in the creation & government of the world? Whether we may not be mistaken in the judgment we are apt to form concerning what is the best & most desirable issue and event of things? and also concerning the way & means in which the great designs of creation & providence may be best accomplished?* We seem to be altogether incompetent judges of these matters, any farther than we have the light of Divine revelation to instruct & guide us. And tho' we are apt to imagine with ourselves in what ways the ends aimed at in the government of the world might be most happily answered, yet our reveries are indeed but random guesses in the dark any further than they are conformed to this revelation. That sin and misery should rise and prevail

to such a height, and continue forever in the creation & under the governm^t of the greatest & best of beings, is apt to appear very strange, yea, absolutely incredible to some, — altogether unsuitable to the holy & benevolent designs which are to be accomplished. But perhaps we shall not find it easy to shew *why the entrance of sin & misery into the world at first should not be thought as strange & incredible under the government of God.* Our reasonings *a priori* from the Divine perfections, and from those ends which we should suppose that God had in view in the creation & government of the world, would lead us to conclude that sin & misery should never enter, much less continue in the world so long as we know that it has. We know from undeniable fact that it is not disagreeable to the Divine character and the ends of his government that sin & misery should take place among his creatures & prevail long and to a prodigious degree. There have been and are an exceeding great multitude of sinful creatures, who are making themselves vile and miserable in this world by drinking in iniquity like water. And how can we know *from any such reasonings a priori*, but that sin and misery may remain forever & rise to the utmost height which any have supposed will be in the state of damnation? The Divine holiness & goodness have not prevented the entrance of evil, and its prevailing thus far; and very important & excellent ends have been answered by this means. What good reason have we, then, to conclude from the moral character of the Deity that sinful creatures may not be fixed forever in a state of natural & moral evil, and very important & valuable ends answered by it?

The infinitely wise Governor of the world will no doubt accomplish the best end by the best means, but it seems to me that we cannot prove it to be any more inconsistent with wisdom or goodness to leave creatures in a state of sin & misery a long time than to suffer them to fall into such a state at all. Yea, what evidence have

we that the eternal damnation of impenitent sinners may not be the fittest means of accomplishing that end which infinite wisdom judges to be the best? If sin and misery had never entred into the world, perhaps the wise[s]t creature in the universe would have thought that infinite power, wisdom, & goodness would have prevented these evils, and confirmed all rational & moral agents in a state of holiness & happiness. Such a creature might possibly have thought that it could not be the design of the wise & benevolent Governor of the world to leave creatures to fall into sin & misery, to lose their love to himself, the best of beings, to have their hearts turned & set against him & his holy will. Yet we know that sin and misery have taken place & prevailed to a great degree. The existence of evil in the creation is an undeniable fact; it is therefore certain that it is agreeable to the moral character of the Deity to permit evil to enter and prevail far in his creation. This is not inconsistent with the end & design of his moral government. What assurance, then, can we have, that it may not be as consistent with his perfections and the ends of his moral government to continue sinful creatures in existence forever, as examples of punitive justice and monuments of his hatred of sin? Indeed, if he has revealed his purpose to be otherwise, that may abundantly satisfy us. But it seems to me that we are too ignorant of the ends and designs which the Divine Being may have in the creation & government of the world, and of the fittest means to answer those ends, to be able to determine the eternal damnation of sinners to be inconsistent therewith, unless God himself shall declare it to be inconsistent.

The eternal damnation of sinners involves in it so much evil, both natural and moral, that I should think it absolutely incredible under the Divine government, unless it were supposed to be *not only consistent* with the end & design of His moral government, but also *absolutely necessary*

in order to the accomplishment of this design. If you should enquire what necessity there is for the eternal damnation of sinners, I should readily own myself too ignorant to undertake to answer it. I know there are many who will talk as confidently without book upon these points as if they had been privy counsellors to the Deity in forming the plan of all his operations; and will lay down their own presumptions & hypotheses as certain & evident axioms to reason upon. I would not be guilty of that temerity which I dislike in others, but would modestly propose the following queries: May not the ultimate end of the creation and government of the world be the glory of God, as displayed especially in communicating holiness & happiness to moral agents? If so, then does not the holiness and happiness of creatures consist chiefly in the knowledge, love, & enjoyment of God? Is it not then necessary, in order that the great design of the divine operations be answered, that God should manifest himself & his perfections to his creatures? And the clearer & fuller manifestation he makes of himself, the more his glory & the holiness & happiness of his people are advanced. Did not the entrance of sin into the world occasion a further manifestation of the divine perfections and character than had been before? How could the divine justice, hatred of sin, mercy & longsuffering to sinners, & sovereignty in the exercises of mercy, — how could these perfections have been known by & manifested to creatures by their proper exercises, effects, & examples unless there were sinful and miserable objects? Might it not therefore be consistent & agreeable to the wise ends of God's moral government to suffer sin & misery to enter the world, that he might take occasion of manifesting himself more fully & clearly than could otherwise have been done, and so increasing the knowledge, love, holiness, & happiness of his kingdom? And may not the eternal damnation of sinners serve to display some part

of the divine character which might not otherwise appear in so strong a light? If you ask, What divine perfection is manifested in the eternal punishment of sinners which is not manifested to the greatest advantage in the obedience & sufferings of Christ? I answer, *The sovereignty of God in the exercises of his mercy.* If all mankind should be finally saved, there would be no instances or examples to shew that he has mercy on whom he will have mercy, and has a right to chuse some of his sinful creatures to be the objects of mercy, and leave others to perish forever in their sins according to their deserts. If what is intimated in these queries be, I do not say certain, but even probable or credible, then it is probable or credible that the eternal punishment of the wicked may be quite agreeable to God's moral character & the designs of his moral government. But be this as it may, I see not how we can argue that eternal punishments are inconsistent with the divine character & the ends of his government, unless we proceed upon such grounds as would infer such an inconsistency in the entrance of sin & misery into the world, & their prevailing so far as they have.

As to the end of punishment, whether the reformation of the offenders may not be the design of the punishments of the future state as well as the present? I answer, it does not appear that the punishments inflicted in this world are always designed for the reformation of the offender. I instance, in the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea; numberless other instances might be produced. All the arguments that are brought from the Scriptures against the final salvation of those who die in their sins are so many arguments that the punishments of the future state are not designed for their reformation. These arguments, I confess, appear to me of so much weight that I know not how to get over them. I will hint a few things which seem not easily reconcileable with the doctrine of universal salva-

tion. Our Saviour says that the sin against the Holy Ghost shall never be forgiven, neither in this world nor in the world to come. And of Judas he says, It had been good for him if he had never been born. And we read that he who, being often reprov'd, harden'd his neck, shall be suddenly destroyed, *and that without remedy*. In the original it is, He shall be broken to pieces & there shall be no healing. And at the day of judgment we shall receive according to the deeds done in the body, which seems to imply that there is no state of probation after death for those who have lived and died in their sins. And that the future jud[g]ment is after the resurrection seems implied in what we read in Rev. 20: The sea gave up the dead that were therein, & death & hades delivered up the dead that were in them, and they were judged, &c. The Scriptures also distinguish those that are saved & those that perish, and oppose them to each other in such a manner as seems to exclude all those that perish from the hopes of being saved. Christ's sheep, for whom he laid down his life, & to whom he gives eternal life, shall never perish. Consequently they of whom the Scriptures testify that they perish are not Christ's sheep for whom he died, and to whom he gives eternal life. The everlasting fire to which the wicked are to be doomed is the fire of hell, which our Saviour says *shall never be quenched or go out*, which seems to shew that an endless duration is intended. And the everlasting punishment of the wicked and the eternal life of the righteous are expressed by the same word, *aionios*, in the same sentence, and it seems but reasonable to conclude from hence that they are of equal & endless duration. David tells Solomon that, if he forsake the Lord, He will cast him off forever, which expression seems to be explained, Psal. 77, Will the Lord cast off forever, & *will he be favourable no more?* They who are saved are spoken of as *chosen & elect*, which signifies a select number taken

from the rest of mankind. Their names are said to be written in the book of life before the foundation of the world, and they were chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world. Now election implies a preterition of those who are not elected. And tho' the Scriptures speak of the resurrection of the unjust, it is a resurrection of damnation, opposed to the resurrection of life. And our Saviour teaches us that at the end of the world he will sever the righteous from the wicked, and gather out of his kingdom them that do iniquity and cast them into a furnace of fire, and it seems too forced a construction to pretend, as I have heard that some have done, that this is to be understood of the sinful actions of men, which are to be burnt up in hell, when the text speaks plainly of persons. I might add those places where it is said of the wicked that the smoke of their torment ascendeth up forever and ever (*eis tous aionas toûn aionoon*); and tho' the critics observe truly that a limited duration is sometimes to be understood where these terms are used, yet I think it cannot be denied that the same forms of expression are commonly used where an endless duration is manifestly intended. Nor can I find that the Hebrew and Greek languages had any stronger or more determinate words by which to express the idea of everlasting duration than we find used in the Scripture concerning the state of future punishment. For not only the words *aionios*, *gnolam*, *vagned*, are used, but there are also negative expressions denying that some sins shall be forgiven, or that the fire of hell shall be quenched. And it appears from the writings of the Fathers of the three first centuries that they understood these Scriptural expressions in this manner, particularly Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Minutius Felix, Arnobius, Lactantius, tho' it must be owned that some of them sometimes speak doubtfully; and Origen in particular, it seems, was of a different opinion, which was generally disapproved and

censured by Christians. Yet Grotius doubts whether Origen was really of the opinion which is commonly supposed. He suspects his writings are interpolated, and says that, if he really taught the doctrine of the final salvation of wicked men & devils, he was not constant in asserting it, but in his exposition of the 25 of Matthew discourses of the future punishment agreeably to the common doctrine. And the general consent among Christians upon the article of everlasting punishment shews how these Scriptural expressions have generally been understood.

Now if we find reason from the Scriptures to believe that the punishment of the wicked in the future state excludes all hope of their salvation, (and indeed I know not how to reconcile the contrary scheme of doctrine with the Scriptures,) we may then proceed to consider whether Paul's words in which he says that he has hope in God, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of y^e just & of the unjust, imply anything inconsistent with it. I confess you have observed a difficulty in the words which I had not attended to, but which I think hig[h]ly worthy of attention ; that is, how the resurrection of the unjust could be an object of hope, supposing they are raised to be put away to an endless and aggravated punishment? Is it agreeable to that benevolence we ought to have, to hope for the resurrection of the wicked, supposing their resurrec[tion] will prove no benefit to them, but occasion their greater misery? Here you will remember that our Saviour says, that they that have done good will come forth out of their graves to the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil to the resurrection of damnation. The Greek word, indeed, is *criseôs*. But you know that it sometimes signifies condemnation. And its being placed in opposition to life seems to be a good reason for understanding as it is translated. If this point then is fixed, that the resurrection of the unjust is a resurrection of damnation, will it not be as difficult to

suppose that the wicked will receive any benefit by it, as to suppose that Paul should hope for it when he knew that it would increase their misery? Whether we can solve the difficulty you mention or not, damnation is the consequence of their resurrection, for what appears at present, from our Saviour's words and from many other texts of Scripture which have been glanced at. I observe further, that Paul says that the Jews allowed that resurrection of the dead which he hoped for. But it seems they did not expect such a resurrection of all men as would issue in universal salvation. The question that was put to our Saviour, "Are there few that be saved?" shews plainly that universal salvation was not expected; and our Saviour's answer seems quite contrary to such a supposition. But the knot still remains, Could the resurrection of the unjust be the object of Paul's hope? What shall we say to that? I met with a remark of Grotius which I thought at first might soften the knot. He says, "The Hellenist Jews were wont to use the word *ἐλπίς*, hope, to signify trust." Accordingly, I rendred the text thus: "I trust in God, I confide in his power, word, and promise that there will be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and of the unjust." But without insisting on this, I would rather say, the object of Paul's hope was not the resurrection of the unjust simply and abstractly considered, but it was the resurrection of the dead in general. The resurrection of the dead is the object of a Christian's hope. It is on the whole desirable, notwithstanding the resurrection of the wicked to shame and contempt may not be that consideration which renders the prospect of it desirable. If a Christian in the full assurance of hope should say, "I hope I shall soon die and go to be forever with the Lord, death will be gain to me," we should readily understand his meaning to be that the object of his hope was not merely & abstractly to die. Nature rather shrinks from death in

itself considered. But that, upon the whole, death will be gain to him, and so upon the whole it is desirable, notwithstanding it may be attended with some circumstances which in themselves are not agreeable. So the resurrection of the dead in general is upon the whole a fit object of hope, because of the great good that will arise from it, although it should be supposed that this circumstance, viz. that it will be a resurrection of damnation to the wicked, be not properly an object. If you doubt whether the general resurrection of the dead be a proper object of hope to a good man, because it will be unhappy to the wicked, I would ask whether that such a man would chuse upon the whole that there would be no resurrection, (if it might be left to his choice,) rather than that there should be a general resurrection of the just and the unjust. If not, then the resurrection of the dead as it [is] revealed in the Scriptures, comprehending both the just and the unjust, is upon the whole an object of hope to a good man, notwithstanding the misery it will bring with it to the wicked. I would observe further, that it is the opinion of some, Dr Bellamy in particular, that a general resurrection is obtained for mankind by the mediation of Christ, and is to be considered as a common favour granted to all as inferring a higher capacity of happiness, tho' the wicked by their impenitency lose all the benefit and advantage of this as well as of all other capacities and privileges they have, so that they prove to them only capacities of sin and misery. A resurrection may in itself be considered as a favour to all men, as well as their being, rational faculties, the immortality of the soul, &c., which, tho' most important and desirable capacities and prerogatives, will in the end issue in such a state of wret[ch]edness to the wicked that it had been good for them if they had never been born. According to this opinion Paul's words in 1 Cor. 15, As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made [alive], are to

be understood as spoken of all mankind, without exception. The opinion more commonly received among us, you know, is that the Apostle is treating of the resurrection of life which is derived to all the redeemed from Jesus Christ, the 2^d Adam, as death was derived from the first to all his natural posterity. But I digress. If what has been suggested seem not sufficiently to solve the difficulty you mentioned, I would query further whether those who die in their sins are to be considered as objects of benevolence after death has finished their probationary state, and they are lost beyond all hopes of recovery, as has been commonly supposed. If the punishment of the wicked be right in itself, as being justly deserved, if it be necessary to vindicate the Divine honour, and answer the wisest, best, most desirable and benevolent purposes with regard to the universal system, is it not agreeable to a wise, rational, and extensive benevolence to hope that these ends will be answered, though it be by their final ruin? Suppose a kingdom or commonwealth should get into a state of extreme disorder, that the sons of violence and injustice should carry all before them by lawless might, and oppress & persecute all that would not join with them, would it be any way incon[sistent] with benevolence for a man to hope that what obstructs the free course of justice will soon be removed, and magistrates will again be a terror to evil doers and a praise to those that do well, though the consequence of this will be the untimely death of some that are overmuch wicked? If justice, the honour of the Divine government, and the interest of God's kingdom all require the punishment of the wicked, should not a benevolent man acquiesce in it? Are not the saints, the holy apostles and prophets, called upon to rejoice when God shall avenge their blood upon Babylon? And are not they represented as saying, Hallelujah, salvation & glory and honour and power unto the Lord our God, for true and righteous are his judg-

ments, for he hath judged the great whore. And again they said, Hallelujah, and her smoke rose up forever and ever. If the honour of God and the interests of his kingdom require that they who die in their sins should be punished with everlasting destruction, are the wicked after death to be considered as objects of benevolence? And may not this be the reason why those who are known to have committed the sin unto death are not to be prayed for?

Upon the whole, dear Sir, I could gladly embrace the scheme of universal salvation, if *I could find a good foundation* for it in the Scriptures. I could hope that all will be finally happy and holy, *if I could reconcile it with the Scriptures*. There is something in the supposition that will strike a benevolent heart very agreeably. And I doubt not but that good men may be very favourably disposed towards it. The late Dr Pemberton was so, as I have been credibly informed. But at present I am unable to make out the consistency of this opinion with the Scriptures. If sin and misery shall ever be finally abolished, I should think that this will rather be by the annihilation than the salvation of the wicked. That would indeed be an everlasting destruction and punishment, & perishing, &c. I know this supposition is liable to objections, but they are much less in my opinion than the scheme of universal salvation is pressed with.

If you should be able, dear Sir, to pick any thing out of this heap of indigested thoughts that may be of any use to you, or give you any assistance in your speculations, I shall be heartily glad of it. I will observe the hint upon the back of your letter, though I think there is nothing contained in it that could give offence to any person of a candid mind. I am willing to leave it to your prudence and discretion to dispose of these lines as you please. I should be willing to know in convenient time what you think of the hints I have given for the

solution of your queries. In the mean time I am, with much respect and affection,

Your friend & brother,

MOSES HEMMENWAY.

WELLS, Dec^r 20, 1779.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Mr Belknap, Dover. To the care Mr R^d Chamney, Portsmouth.

BOSTON, January 26, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — Your two letters, which were very excellent and clever, reached me a considerable while after their date, and I should have done myself the pleasure to answer their contents had not the way been impassable ever since I received them. For if there were no great gulphs between us, yet there have been such heaps of snow as could not be surmounted even by the posts. This hath occasioned such an irregularity that I know not when your last very short epistle arrived, or whether I shall be able to get this letter which I am now writing into the office. Perhaps it may reach you as soon after the date as either of yours have fell into my hands. The subject of them I have read with pleasure, have shewed them to D^r Chauncy & M^r Clarke. D^r C. has offered me the perusal of the MSS. upon Restitution, & I will directly write out the passages you desired and anything else you may hereafter wish to peruse. I hope to be fully convinced of the sentiments advanced by the Doctor when I have read his work. I want to have the matter set in a Scriptural view, when perhaps I shall be persuaded fully concerning this question: Whether a man of common sense, good discernment, solid understanding, with an unprejudiced mind, should read the Greek Testament, especially the Evangelists, and upon giving his opinion should declare that this was the doc-

trine there delivered? I mean that the person should never be made acquainted that there ever was a dispute about it. Let me say thus much. It is fully mine opinion that he must fall into the scheme of Universal Restitution or Everlasting Destruction; for I cannot allow myself in thinking it myself, or in supposing any rational mind tempered with benevolence can indulge the idea, that a perfect moral government cannot exist but by the eternal *torments* of sinners. I am much pleased with what you have written against my scheme of Annihilation. I had rather believe the other doctrine, because it is more congenial to the disposition of my soul, w^{ch} is benevolent upon the whole; and had I only a rational view of the matter I should adopt it. For here, altho' I may have some doubts, yet they do not arise to insuperable difficulties. What I want chiefly to be settled in is THIS. Without repentance & faith, or, in other words, without regeneration, we cannot enter into the kingdom of Heaven. How comes it to pass, then, that there is no mention made in Scripture of this transformation of the soul after the second death?

When I send you the paraphrase, &c., I will be more particular upon this matter, and send an extract from Mr Bourn, who hath collected the texts of Scripture which favor the annihilation of sinners. In some future letters we may discuss the propriety of feeding the palate of the populace with this rich & dainty food, however luscious it may be to our taste. I hope Mr H——y* will be convinced of the beauty of the salva[tion of] mankind as exhibited by your correspondence. [I have] come to this resolution this evening, "that a fortnight shall never pass without my writing to you upon some topic or other." Farewell; this for tonight.

Public News.—I was told this evening that the post

* Rev. Moses Hemmenway, D. D. See the next preceding letter. — Eds.

had brought a certain account that Gen^l Washington had taken Staten Island, with 800 men.

Domestic Occurrences. — I am not married, nor *like* to be. Siah says little about the widow of Somersworth. *Mungo here*, &c. We are all well, & send love to you & Ruthy. Your brother Sam & wife join us. Andrew is well, fm. letters just received. My brother Sammy hath another daughter,

Yrs.

JOHN ELIOT.

P. S. I advise you to act with a determined spirit & resolution about a *certain affair*. More particular next time.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

BOSTON, March 29, [1780].

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — There has certainly been a great gulph fix'd between us this winter. I have not heard from you or any friends at a distance near 4 months, nor have I been out of the town of Boston. The difficulty of sending has prevented me from indulging a disposition to write, which otherwise would have been manifested by considerable scribbling. It is now compleat winter weather. I am here in my study confined by a *game leg*; my sister Sukey sick up stairs; & everything around me looks melancholy. One comfort, — I have wood, & that lifts me up above my neighbours. How have you done this weather? Or perhaps you have had less snow, & therefore not much difficulty to procure fuel. However, if you have been supplied anyhow I give you joy.

I sincerely renew my expressions of sympathy with you on account of your very disagreeable situation with your people. Wish the scene may be less deeply shaded than when you last wrote. I can only wish your people had more sense of your merit; and I am not alone

in my prayers that you may be delivered from such a situation. I hope you received my last letter sent to Portsmouth by the post, — I forget the date, but think it was sent to the care of Mr Champney. I have experienced the benefit of my stable settlement with our congregation. They did not see fit to raise my salary from the sum it was first voted, altho' the agreement was to make up *depreciation* every three months. Before the fortnight expired after the three months were ended, I applied for my due. The deacons & others said I had better say nothing till after May meeting, when they would pay all together. I knew that in this case much would be set down to my loss; and I therefore insisted upon the settlement before more time elapsed. I told them peremptorily, that, if they did not call the Society together, I would; that I had kept firmly to my engagement, & only begged they would do the same. The consequence was they have done it, and I have now wherewithal to live on: otherwise, I must have been naked & starved.

The town of Boston is really poor. If some brighter prospects do not open, it is my opinion that we cannot subsist. You are sensible how much depends upon our trade. Let this one instance of our going downwards convince you. An outward bound cargo cannot be purchased for the whole amount of the vessell & cargo returning safely to the wharfe. Thus the balance is against us, supposing no risk. What then can be the emoluments of trade when the vessells are so much exposed w^{ch} go backwards & forwards, exposed to every danger from the ire of Neptune equally with the attacks of British cruisers. Many have perished on our coast this winter. Many widowed families add to the distress of the North End, who were in good circumstances before the commencement of this tedious season. Most of the ready money w^{ch} was in the town the country people have

drained, — such was the necessity of obtaining fuel at any price. One effect these things have upon all orders of men in the seaports, — a hearty wish for peace, which sentiment did not pervade the mobility till the present time. Did the country farmers *feel* like the Bostonian mechanics, I don't know what would be the consequence. Something comes into my mind w^h was spoken by one of the latter order some time ago. "Let's have peace," said he. "How shall we obtain it?" "Why easily. When I go to market, I go to get meat as cheap as possible. But I don't come away empty. If they won't take my price, I give them theirs." From this instance we may judge what time of tide it is.

The latest accounts from Europe make it appear as if the war would last another year, at least. What our army are about at the southward, we know not. Great bets are laid about the Carolinas. It is generally thought that the British fleet is strong in the West Indies. Will not Ireland remain *in statu quo*? Gibraltar still is superior to the force of Spain. Holland looks on. Where will these commotions end? Perhaps it is now the most important stage of the world from its being called out of darkness or chaos to the general conflagration. Amidst our private troubles I cannot but have some sublime thoughts that they are accompanied with such vast agitation and such important transactions. The soaring wing of human discernment trembles to survey the issue of this great contest. And when we search into futurity, the accounts we receive are vague, uncertain, & confused. But can we help contemplating? Who is unattentive, or without anxiety? Our private concerns & our public affairs are so critical, that to express our own feelings is only to tell others what are their sensations.

But to turn our attention from the justlings & revolutions in the political world unto the harmony & beauty of y^e moral system, let us not forget the particular subject

of your last letter, as well as the matter of our conversation at several interviews. You will please to observe that the scheme of annihilation is what I have declared that I never desire to believe, & to which I am now far from giving absolute credit. It is true that I am in doubt concerning the meaning of several texts of Scripture, which appear to have such an implication. It is not agreeable to y^e grand & noble plan which y^e rational mind would scetch out were it left to range at large into y^e nature of things & draw conclusions concerning the being & perfections of the Divinity. But it is not for us to traverse the *high priori road*, except we take great heed to our steps. Here are also such great obstructions as not only impede the way, but entirely obscure the sight. You suppose that the annihilation plan reflects dishonor upon the great God, as implying imperfection of character. Should a defender of the scheme be called upon, perhaps he wld. thus argue: "When I look around the world, I find many things consistent with the excellencies of the Divine nature, which I should have supposed (had I reasoned from causes to effects, and not from effects to causes) not to be reconciled with the attributes of God. Why do the lillies, being arrayed in so much beauty, droop & die? Why do thousands of seeds perish without opportunity to expand & bring forth their bud? To proceed from the vegetable to y^e animal world, I see millions of creatures hardly allowed to come into existence, or perishing in all stages of life. If we come up to man, how many millions die in embrio; how many before they are formed into human beings, as it were, are scattered, having no womb where they may lodge. Phylosophers, for want of some other term, have called this y^e waste of nature, which is equally the same thing as imperfection when applied to nature's Author. But altho' this may be the case, phylosophically speaking, it wears a very different appearance viewed thro' the moral tele-

scope. God Almighty, says the phylosopher, is able to bring all these into being. An infinitely wise God most surely would do it, for it must add to his glory. A good God will order it so, because it is such a display of his benevolence." But the moralist would answer on this wise. The present system doth not diminish y^e power of God; for we equally allow that he might have planned the system otherwise. It is not infringing upon his wisdom, for, after we have examined into nature, we are obliged to allow that these things are adapted to y^e situation of the world. We cannot but be sensible that it would not do to have all creatures exist of which there is a possibility of their having a being. We may apply the same argument for the annihilation of human creatures in another state. Why should every person that lives in this world exist in Heaven? There are certain moral powers & faculties w^{ch} are necessary to become an inhabitant of that place which many are not endowed with. Now, why should the Divine Being superadd to these, and make them all perfect in celestial existence, any more than to those upon whom he might have bestowed *earthly* existence? This cannot affect the goodness of God, because the creature is only where he was before he was born. Nor is annihilation more a punishment than is common to nonentities, or the meer maggots of our imagination.* Annihilation is not the punishment inflicted on human creatures. It is only a departure from being to those who are not equal to the purposes of existence. Nor is it viewed otherwise than this by persons who have no faith about futurity. Hence the image about Sandeman's church may be liable to fail. The kingdom of Heaven may rather be compared to our own Church, where we admit no persons as members without certain qualifications. The other instance which you mention

* Such a number of beings as will be sufficient to beautify the universe will always have their stations & subordinations. — *Note by Mr. Eliot.*

about civil courts is more *apropos*. It is a very good argument in favor of your system, in opposition to annihilating schemes, & would be conclusive were it not for our different ideas about the dreadfulness of annihilation. The patrons of it viewing it only as a negative punishment, or a meer privation of happiness. I will only add here, that the vast desires of men are often brought as a proof of their immortality. This distinguishes them from the beasts that perish. But what shall we say of idiots, who like y^e horse & the mule have no understanding? What shall we say concerning men who have degenerated till they have nothing human in them? Why treated otherwise than those below them?

Pardon me, my dear Sir, for thus running a rigg which I little expected when I began to write. It is a meer matter of speculation. After all, I like your argument better than mine own. Either reason or something else within me inclines towards the more liberal, because more extensive, plan of the restitution of all things. I suppose that the annihilators understand the second death, which is the punishment of sinners as preparatory to their non-existence. The punishment lasts as long as necessary to subserve the purposes of God's moral government, and then they are eased of it.

I shall give you an extract from the writings of Mr Bourn, from whence you will be led to see how far they may be supported by the language of inspiration. I told you about my peculiar difficulty arising from the silence of Scripture concerning persons being admitted to happiness after the second death. From him you will learn y^e evidence for their total dissolution: "If the expressions of being *thrown into a furnace of fire, cast into a lake of fire, into everlasting fire, into hell, where the worm dieth not, &c., &c.*, do not intend annihilation, I am at a loss for their meaning. If I tell a man whose house is on fire that the fire is unquenchable, it is the same as to tell him that it

will be destroyed. If I tell a gardener whose plants or the blossoms are infected by the worm that he cannot kill that worm, or that it will not die, it is the same thing as if I told him that his fruit will come to nothing, or his plants die. Or if a patient is afflicted with a distemper which is supposed to proceed from worms, and he is told that the *worm will not die*, the meaning of the phrase must be that the disease will end in the death of the patient. And if such expressions are considered as proverbial among the Jews, & that when any person fell into any distemper or calamity y^t would certainly end in their destruction, it was usual for them to say, That is a *worm that will not die*, or, that is a *fire that will not be quenched*, the sense is perfectly intelligible. They meant that it was a lost case, that there was no possibility of preventing the destruction of the person or thing to which they applied the proverb. Besides, there is something absurd & contradictory in the image made use of, if we suppose chaff, wood, or other useless materials thrown into an unquenchable fire, & yet not to be consumed & destroyed in that fire, or a living creature cast into it, & yet preserved alive forever in it. For throwing into the fire is always understood to be y^e most effectual way of destroying a thing, and the less extinguishable the fire is, the more certainly will the subject thrown in be consumed. And the original term *κατακαieiν*, properly translated, is *to burn up* or utterly consume by fire, *vid.* John 3. 12.* The expression here is probably borrowed from Malachi 4. 1, 'For behold the day cometh,' &c. Similar to this is the expression in the Epistle to the Hebrews, 'Our God is a consuming fire,' *καταναλυσκον*, which signifies utterly destroying, the very reverse of preserving."

Thus Mr Bourn.

I shall now finish this letter, hoping soon to hear from you. But I must beg you to omit one expression which

* This is an obvious slip of the pen for Matt. 3. 12. — Eds.

frequently occurs in your epistles, viz^t tedious scribbling. You cannot surely mean that what you write is tedious to me, and did you really think upon the satisfaction & pleasure which your letters afford to my mind, that benevolence w^{ch} prompts you to indulge the thought that all men will be finally happy would stimulate your activity in conferring happiness on an individual, & him your friend.

I leave it to yourself to judge about the tediousness of this long letter of mine, and shall only add my love & respects to Ruthy & other enquiring friends.

Yrs most affectionately,

JOHN ELIOT.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Dover. To the care of Mr. Richard Champney, Portsmouth.

BOSTON, 14 April, 1780.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — After long wishing to hear from you, I received a very agreeable letter, dated March 22^d, which acquainted me among other things that you had written to me before, and sent a number of your sermons. I had desired to see this production of yours, and could not but feel a twofold degree of indignation, because with these I was also deprived of the letter which accompanied them. These have just arrived, and I have read each of them with satisfaction. From what you mention about my neglect I am persuaded that you have not received my last letter, which was a particular consideration of the annihilating plan, & which with the other parts of the epistle filled several sheets of paper.

I have read Dr Chauncy upon *you know what*. I think it unanswerable. Were I *not* of a sceptical turn of mind in things admitting much speculation, I should fall into it. Perhaps I may be said to believe it. There are degrees of faith. Mine is not so strong but that I something doubt at times. It has pleased God to cover with a veil,

at least so as to obscure, if not to hide, the view of things which are to happen after the sufferings of the second death. This may be to excite our industry in religious studies. I never saw Dr Whitby's writings; am obliged to you for your extracts, as well as the observations upon him. *You* are equally ingenuous, & I am fond of such enquiries because they pleasingly exercise the mind. But I am persuaded that no one will long dispute about the modus of the operation, if they are once brought to think that y^r God determined to restore all things in the extensive manner you mention. My surprise is only excited y^t so little is revealed concerning his design. I have however hinted above what may be the cause. By the first private opportunity I will send the paraphrases you wish to peruse, and my sentiments about the Giving up his Kingdom. I have lately been reading another MS. of the D^s upon Justification, which is stronger illustration of his sentiments upon the 5th ch. to the Romans. He is certainly a masterly reasoner & a great critic. *Magna est veritas et semper prevalebit.*

You complain that I am not full enough about your parochial affairs. I thought I had been. This I would give as my advice, that something firm should be between you. (Did I not say this before?) Otherwise I would leave them, and improve the first opportunity of building on a surer foundation. I esteem it an expression of the warmest friendship that you acquaint me with the particulars.

Poor me. Here I am tied by the leg. I injured the tendon of the plantaris muscle (to speak in the crooked language of my physician), and have been confined these 3 weeks, & must have shut up the meeting-house but for the assistance of our North End schoolmaster. When I shall be released [from] my confinement, I am unable to say. We have the disagreeable news of my brother Squier's uneasy situation aboard a guard ship. He was

carried into New York, being an officer in the ship Recovery. *Bella, horrida bella.* What are we commin to? What shall we do if the times continue as they are? I have a manuscript upon the Congress I wish you to see. I will send you a copy of the Constitution & some sermons when I am favored with a conveyance, — a Register if you have none, — Fleet's, I mean, of this State. The same printer is about a work I greatly promoted, — The History of the Present War. I have a duplicate; will send one, if Sam don't. Am afraid to ask him, lest I should offend his delicacy. Pray inform me. We are all well. Accept our regards.

Yours affectionately,

J. ELIOT.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

BOSTON, May 23, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — Your two last letters are before me. M^r Buckminster and M^r Haven delivered them *in propriis personis*. Before I take notice of the contents of either, I am desirous to acquaint you in what channel I supposed my missing letter was conveyed. My brother delivered it to the care of M^r George Searle of Newburyport, who undertook to forward it to Deacon Penhallow's at Portsmouth, from whence I was led to think you would soon be in possession of whatever it contained. It was rather a lengthy epistle. However, I may in future recollect some of the sentiments, & perhaps by a second review deliver them more to your satisfaction. You may there be convinced that the scheme of annihilation is not a baby of my affections, tho' I cannot but say that it received, to speak no further, some favor from me, from reflecting upon the general analogy of nature, & from considering certain passages of Scripture which are construed otherwise with some difficulty. I would now sug-

gest that M^r Murray may be deprived of some advantages upon the plan of the annihilation of the wicked, which would be made use of against the scheme of ultimate happiness. He insists upon it that certain texts not only imply, but plainly declare, destruction to some things w^{ch} now have no existence. These he makes to be the sins, corrupt affections, &c. And his argument:—Something must be entirely destroyed; *you* do not allow that wicked men can be the subjects of such punishments, because they must be reserved for everlasting torments. What then shall we understand by the goats, tares, & chaff, which are to be consumed, but our corrupt nature or evil principles; and if we are divested of these, why shall we not be holy & happy? which, as we read, is to be the case with us at the Day of Judgment. — Now, whether his mouth could not be stopped by denying his minor proposition.

M^r Murray is now in town. So is one Winchester, a New-Light haranguer.* They preach to the same audience, viz^t the promiscuous herd who attend wherever they can get their passions roused & inflamed. Murray is certainly right while they are in his meeting; and W——r certainly has truth of his side, — tho' one asserts that all punishment is connected with the offence in this life, and the other asserts that we are everlastingly to float about in the liquid fire of hell. Winchester has brought many of our country towns to the state they were in when D^r Chauncy wrote his account of religion in New England. They flock about him, and are dipped by twenty's. All these sectaries, however they may spat one another, agree in this one thing, to pull down the

* Rev. Elhanan Winchester was born in Brookline, Mass., Sept. 30, 1751. At an early age he became a Baptist minister; but he afterward joined the Universalists, and in 1781 founded a Universalist church in Philadelphia. A few years later he went to England, where he spent several years. He returned to this country in 1794, and died in Hartford, Conn., April 18, 1797. He was a very prolific writer, as well as a very zealous preacher. (See Eddy's Universalism in America, vol. i. pp. 212-257, 429, 479.) — Eds.

standing clergy. This was evident in our debates upon the third article of our Constitution. Murray preached against it day after day. Stillman went to town meeting day after day likewise, & harangued.* I must be a little particular about this town meeting, for it was really curious. The whole Constitution was unanimously accepted, exclusive of the third article, w^{ch} was left for debate. Monday, 8th instant, in the afternoon, we met in the Old Brick meetinghouse, — a most crowded assembly, rendered so in an especial manner by the desire of the ministers of the town, who, agreeably to a vote passed, begged every one to attend. The votes of the town were read before the last singing the day preceeding. When we had gotten together Stillman arose & spoke against the article. He represented it as infringing upon the rights of conscience, and told a story of a barber whose minister brought him in a rate-bill, which he refused to pay because he did not go to meeting. “Well,” said the minister, “the doors were open & you might have come. You must pay me.” A little while after, the barber brought him a bill for shaving, &c. The minister refused to pay, & said he had never been in his shop. “Well, but,” said he, “the doors have been open all the week, & it is your fault,” &c. This was accompanied with a pathetic address to the people about his being called out of meeting, some days before, with a complaint from two men who were confined in Worcester jail, because they did not wrong their consciences in paying a minister of a different persuasion. “Here’s the mittimus,” said he, “here’s y^e mittimus,” with all the eloquence of Corporal Trim, in *Tristram Shandy*, when he waked up Dr Slop by describing the Inquisition. Another oratorical expression was made use of to much popular advantage, — *Thank God, I serve a*

* Rev. Samuel Stillman, D. D., minister of the First Baptist Church in Boston, was born in Philadelphia, Feb. 27, 1737, and died in Boston, March 12, 1807. He took a very active interest in public affairs, and was a member of the State Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. — EDS.

company of voluntiers; *thunk God, I serve, &c.* When Stillman had popp'd off his powder, up rose Bp. Barrett,* & read a sermon upon the occasion, w^{ch} was sensible & to the point, but was ill-timed & rather a disadvantage to us. D^r Chauncy † then arose from the pulpit, & delivered his sentiments in favor of the article. It was a great pity that he could not be heard. After him Old Kent blundered away. Then M^r Lowell ‡ spake, who made as compleat an harangue as we could wish. He took Stillman in his own way, brought the laugh upon him about the barber, and, in short, shaved him quite to his skin. Stillman got up much agitated, &, without answering him to what he had said, commented upon this text, "My kingdom is not of this world." This brought D^r Cooper § upon his legs, who in his elegant & smooth way cut him up, & brought his comments down to nothing. Ellis Gray joined with D^r C——r, & called upon Stillman to tell the whole story about the men confined in W——r jail, concluding with his opinion that it would have a very different appearance after the particular circumstances were mentioned. To this S——n never replied. The dispute continued all next day. M^r S——n brought into meeting a sermon of D^r Chauncy's to shew that the Doctor agreed with him about the kingdom of Christ. D^r Cooper then displayed a new lustre to his character by a compleat answer to every thing which he alledged, & proved to demonstration that M^r S. did not understand

* Probably Deacon Barrett of the New North Church, referred to in Mr. Eliot's letter of March 17, 1779. (See *ante*, p. 138.) — Eds.

† Rev. Charles Chauncy, D. D., senior minister of the First Church, to whom there are numerous references in this correspondence. He was born in Boston, Jan. 1, 1705, graduated at Harvard College in 1721, ordained minister of the First Church in 1727, and died Feb. 10, 1787. (See Ellis's History of the First Church, pp. 188-208.) — Eds.

‡ Hon. John Lowell, LL. D., born in Newbury, Mass., June 17, 1743, graduated at Harvard College in 1760, died in Roxbury, May 6, 1802. He was one of the most distinguished lawyers of his time, first Judge of the District Court of the United States for Massachusetts, and afterward Chief Justice of the Circuit Court. — Eds.

§ Rev. Samuel Cooper, D. D., minister of the Brattle Street Church, born in Boston, March 28, 1725, graduated at Harvard College in 1743, died Dec. 29, 1783. (See Lothrop's History of the Brattle Street Church, pp. 85-124.) — Eds.

what was delivered in the sermon. About one o'clock the town chose a committee to make certain amendments in the article. They consisted of 5, — M^r Lowel, M^r Stillman, D^r Cooper, M^r Gray, & M^r Morton. The last mentioned gentleman had delivered his sentiments against the article. You may see the amendments in the paper.* The instructions were draughted by your brother Sam, who engaged with his usual zeal in support of the article as proposed by the Convention.† There are some fine essays upon this subject written by M^r West of Dartmouth,‡ who signs Irenaeus, a Member of the Convention.

Well, but I have run along here to a Talmudic length, to be sure, without even saying a word concerning a number of particulars in your letters. I could not rest, however, till I had given you an account of our celebrated meeting. I cannot procure you a Constitution. I gave away y^e only one I had, & another neither love or money will obtain.

Besides a number of moral sentiments & things of a spll. nature which I meant to notice, I have somewhat to observe to you about a rare phænomenon in the heavens last Friday. We all dined by candle light, & the sun was literally darkened at noonday. You will let me know how far eastward the darkness extended, & what you conjecture concerning the amazing column of smoke &

* The report of the committee, as accepted by the town, is printed in the Boston Gazette for May 22, 1780. See also Barry's Hist. of Mass., vol. iii. pp. 177-179. — Eds.

† The instructions to the delegates from Boston are printed in the Boston Gazette for May 15, 1780. — Eds.

‡ Rev. Samuel West, D. D., was born in Yarmouth, Mass., March 4, 1730, graduated with high rank at Harvard College in 1754, settled over the church in Dartmouth in 1761, and died at Tiverton, R. I., Sept. 24, 1807. He was a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of Massachusetts, and also a member of the Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. "His memory is cherished not only for his successful labors and his great influence in the religious teachings of a hundred years ago, but for his patriotic services in the war of the Revolution. Few men have lived in our town who for so long a period of time exerted so beneficial an influence and commanded so high respect and confidence as Dr. Samuel West." (See Celebration at New Bedford, Sept. 14, 1864, of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town of Dartmouth, p. 86.) — Eds.

vapor w^{ch} for so many days filled the air. I shall also relate some curious solutions of people, more especially the female phylosophers.* These things must be left to another opportunity, which I shall improve by the kindness of Mr Buckminster, if we are not favored with an interview. I believe I should exchange with Brother Buck. if I was sure you would not be here at election.

I will conclude this epistle with the paraphrase of Dr C——y's that you desire so much to peruse.

“1 Corinth. 15, from v. 24 to 29. After that (the resurrection of the saints at Christ's second appearing) shall be the end, when Ct. shall have delivered up the mediatorial kingdom to God, even the Father, when he shall have put down all principality, authority, & power. Only, take care that you don't mistake my meaning. I don't intend to insinuate as tho' the end would come, i. e. y^e scene of Providence with respect to the sons of Adam be shut up, immediately upon the advent of Christ to restore the saints to happy life. For, observe, I have connected y^e end not only with Ct's delivery of y^e kingdom unto his Father, but with his having put down all principality, &c. And for a very good reason, for he must still reign & go on reigning till he has totally subdued all enemies & subjected them to his dominion as Head of God's kingdom, which may require a long time, God only knows how long, for its accomplishment. And let it be particularly observed, the last enemy that is to be destroyed, & that must & shall be destroyed, is Death, I mean the Second Death, that death which wicked men must undergo before they can be made willing subjects of Jesus Ct., & so fitted for an happy immortality. Nor let this seem anything strange. For God hath purposed that all things shall be subjected to his son, Jesus Ct. Only when it is said that all things shall be subjected to

* See Mr. Eliot's following letter, June 3, 1780, for a further account of “the Dark Day.” — EDS.

Christ, it is obvious to perceive that *that* glorious Being is to be excepted who subjected all things to him. And when all things shall in event or fact be reduced under subjection to him, then, & not till then, however long a space of time it may require for its accomplishment, — then, I say, shall even the Son himself be subject to Him who put all y^{ngs} under Him, that God may be all & in all.”

My own sentiments are similar to the Doctor’s. I think the least shadow of an objection can be thrown upon this paraphrase, tho’ I cannot but say that I think it entirely consistent with the annihilating scheme, which allows a full destruction to every thing which opposes the Son of God resting in his kingdom.

You may be tired of reading. I am of writing. Therefore I will not adduce the same passage of Scripture paraphrased by Mr Alexander.

I did not put your name for Hunter.* I subscribed for a number. You’ll give me pleasure to accept of one. I shall pay Mr Gill with the rest of the money.

And am with regards to you & yours,

Your friend & humble servant,

J. ELIOT.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Reverend Mr Belknap, Dover.

BOSTON, June 3, 1780.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — I have just heard that Mr^s Cushing sets out for Somersworth, & I shall beg the favor of her taking Hunter’s Observations, &c. Sam & I differ about the merit of the work. It is too Johnsonian for my taste. He affects the language of Ld. C——d,† and

* The reference is probably to “Reflections, Critical and Moral, on the Letters of the late Earl of Chesterfield, by Thomas Hunter, M. A., Vicar of Weaverham, in Cheshire,” which was reprinted in Boston in 1780, and of which there are two copies in the library of the Historical Society. — Eds.

† Lord Chesterfield is the author referred to. His “Letters to his Son” was reprinted in Boston in 1779. — Eds.

appears to me much like one of his Lordship's tenants dressed up in *his* cloaths. When he moves he discovers himself. Let me say, however, that there are many fine sentiments & some very beautiful images; the expression also, at times, is beautiful. It has, however, the desired effect. The tinsel captivates the admirers of the British noblemen, & Ld. C——d sinks in esteem among our bucks, ladies, &c.

Your brother feels pretty cleverly on account of the great reputation his minister has gained by his Election Sermon.* And if you esteem my *commendam* anything, you may think it would have done honor to Bp. Sherlock.

I have to thank you most heartily for several letters, one of which was delivered to me yesterday. This I shall notice after a *ha, ha, he* upon the Dartmouth oration. It was read at our Club, and caused much humour thro' the evening. His poem I never have read. I must say *his*, for the same hand appears in this & the Essay on the Imitative Arts, particularly the description of a *transparent mirror*, several times repeated. There is a Dr Graham, President of an Academy in Fish Kill, — (What a group, *mirabile pecus!* President L——n, C——e; S——s, Yale; W——k, D——h; Graham, Fish Kill; I beg Mr Manning's pardon, who resides at Providence. I suppose you have heard of the new species of vegetation by one of these gentlemen, viz^t planting chocolate, cutting up a cake into a number of pieces, and expecting it to grow up in pounds cut square,) — who has written a poem almost equal to Mr W. This is the first line: —

“Arms & the man I sing who from the plain
Of fair Virginia came,” &c.

* The annual Election Sermon was preached, May 31, 1780, by Rev. Simeon Howard, minister of the West Church, Boston. — Eds.

I shall take the freedom to print an extract of your letter in Draper & Folsom's paper.* Be careful to obtain it, & give me your sentiments upon the whole matter. Mr Williams means to collect all w^{ch} is said, & then introduce the subject into a lecture. You have afforded some facts w^{ch} were new to us, — particularly relating to the duration of the darkness. It continued here no longer than two o'clock. We burnt candles for about an hour. In the evening the darkness was equal to what it was with you, but then it continued much later. It was as dark at 11 & 12 o'clock & afterwards as it was at any

* The extract from Mr. Belknap's letter is given in a communication, signed "A well wisher to *Science*," printed in "The Independent Ledger" for June 5, 1780. It is as follows: "I am going to entertain you with some account of the late extraordinary darkness, which happened on the 19 inst. For some days before, the smoke had been so thick, especially towards the horizon, that the sun disappeared full half an hour before setting. In the low grounds it was so dark the Wednesday before, that a man who was planting a piece of corn told me he could not see from one end of his row to the other. Friday morning was cloudy with some rain and distant thunders. About 11 o'clock it began to grow dark; it was not like the darkness of a thunder cloud, but a yellowish vapour like the fume of a malt house or a coal kiln; about 1 o'clock the darkness was such that we lighted candles to take up dinner, and kept them burning till bed-time. I observed a light gleam in the north and north east, and a very thick vapour in the south west which at first I took to be a thunder cloud. There was a thick kind of fog which rested on the tops of the hills at the time of the greatest obscuration. A gentleman who was riding thro' the woods above *Pennicook* says that in the low grounds he could scarcely breathe. Several small birds flew into the houses, and some were found dead without, being probably suffocated. — A man who was on the river observed a dark coloured scum like soot on the surface of the water. Several of our neighbours caught rain water (for there was a drizzling rain all the day at times) and it was so black they would not use it for washing. At Berwick there were the remains of a snow-drift, which lay before an house and had been so covered with wood chips, &c. that it had not dissolved. The day before the darkness, the man had raked off the chips and dirt that the sun might melt it, so that it was as white as in winter, but by the descent of the vapour on Friday it became all over dark and sooty. — These circumstances, which I can affirm, some on my own observation and the rest on *very* credible information, joined to the exceeding strong smell of smoke which there was all day, are undeniable proofs that the darkness must have been the effect of *clouds and smoke*." This account of the "Dark Day" is also given, in nearly the same form, in the third volume of "The History of New Hampshire." In the communication to the newspaper is another short extract from Mr. Belknap's letter: "Should any one say that these things ought to be improved to strike conviction and terror to sinners, I reply that the *Word of God* is the proper mean of conviction, and all the terrors that are wrought into the mind by natural means without application to the *Word*, or the truths it contains, are merely animal affections and can produce no solid effect. I wish, however, to meet them upon this ground, that uncommon appearances might be the occasion of exciting people's attention to the *Word* which is the instrumental cause of conversion. This event has been the occasion for much lying and harsh censures, as if we denied a *FIRST* cause, which must be allowed before we can reason upon the *second*." — Eds.

time. Our philosophers this way differ greatly. M^r Lathrop printed an account of the appearance of things, & signed *Viator*. He was at Cutler's, Ipswich Hamlet, with Professor Sewal & others, who agreed that smoke was the primary cause, &c. He is attacked by a Peripatetick, J. W——p., who, thinking M^r Williams was the author, maliciously meant to lessen his reputation. This gentleman gives without doubt the true cause. The detached appearance of the clouds in the forenoon will account for the darkness, as may be illustrated by taking panes of glass & placing them at a small distance from each other.

I must here break off, for the letter is called for.

I wrote by B——r.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

BOSTON, Septem^r 11, 1780.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — Tomorrow Brother Lathrop sets out for the eastw'd upon the matter of connubiation; and I have a 1000d things to say, many of which I shall make mention of in this letter. What my mind is most full of is the case of poor President Langdon. You have heard without doubt by busybody rumour something of his situation. I shall be very particular in informing you of every circumstance, for I know you to be a very particular man, & that you are accurate in collecting things in order to form an opinion, & as accurate in your judgm^t when all circumstances are before you. The President has been long growing unpopular, more especially among the students of the College. So disgusting hath he been in his whole deportment that they would have held him in detestation if this sensation had not been absorbed in meer thorough contempt. Yet after all w^{ch} can be said, (this is not a meer effusion of pity,) all his foibles did not amount to a vice when compleatly

converged unto one point of view ; much less unworthy doth he appear when these are separated from each other and blended with his good qualities. I mean a vice that will shade his moral character. As to the total disqualification for the office he sustained, I always had the same opinion, which I hold now, that he was no ways proper to appear in the station ; and that no man who wished well to him or to the interest of Harvard College would, with the same opinion as mine own, not rather have seen him elsewhere's. *Sed sic visum est superis*, — at least to the Corporation, who were the immediate electors. His resignation was as surprising to me as it was to any person the furthest distant from the College. It happened, it seems, in this manner. The scholars unanimously formed a petition w^{ch} was to be presented to the Corporation, begging them to remove the P. What the articles were can be known but imperfectly, as they come to a determination to conceal the contents. Among other things tho', I hear that his unbecoming way of addressing the Deity was one. There was a committee chosen to acquaint the P. with the petition, who addressed him in these words: "As a man of genius & knowledge we respect you ; as a man of piety & virtue we venerate you ; as a President we despise you." D^r Langdon now added another to his many imprudences. He declared to the scholars that he was sensible of his incapacity for the office, imputing it to the weak state of his nerves, and gave them a promise that he would resign. He prepared his resignation to be presented to the Board of Overseers at their meeting last Thursday. The *forthputting*, officious gentleman, D^r Gordon, now suffered his zeal to boil over, and persuaded the President (*ut credo*) that he might still remain in his office, and that he would be his advocate at the Board of Overseers. At the meeting M^r Bowdoin read the resignation. It was well drawn up. Nothing was said of the uneasiness with the students. One would

suppose the whole originated with himself. He said the place was disagreeable to him; that he found himself so debilitated by nervous disorders that he could not go thro' with his course of duty. "My memory fails," said he; "my taste for academical studies decreases; my fondness for shew & public notice is lost; and I wish heartily to retire." He then described very pathetically the disadvantageous circumstances of his coming to Cambridge, and the many losses & troubles he had met with during his continuance there; requesting that he might live in the provincial mansion house, &c. He is really an object of pity. Even the scholars who have been so active in his dismissal think so. They attested to his good character in a unanimous vote presented to the Overseers, wherein they mentioned him as a man of learning an[d] a man of most excellent character, rendered him many thanks for his past services, & expressed the most earnest desire that the remainder of his days may be comfortable & happy. This vote is also accompanied with a subscription for something by way of present. I believe that many thousand dollars will be subscribed for him, if Gordon don't spoil the whole by his impertinence & nonsensical reveries. He blazed away at the meeting; insisted upon it y^t this whole proceeding arose from the meer malice of one of the governors of y^e College (M^r W., the Librarian), who had the impudence to tell M^r & M^{rs} Langdon to their heads that he had long sought an opportunity to revenge an affront offered to him by the President some years since, and now that he was gratified. He moved the matter should be inquired into, the students should be severely censured, & the whole scene of iniquity should be unfolded. *Fiat justitia, ruat cælum*, he repeated, and seemed in a *pet*, as if the rest of us were a party joined together to destroy the President. We felt as much as he could be sensible of, but judged very differently from him about the whole affair. We see the

absolute necessity of his leaving Cambridge, which the Doctor himself could not deny; notwithstanding him, aim to do someⁿg. We thought it best he should depart as privately as possible, that the circumstances might not be too much the subject of speculation, but that things might appear as if all things came & were determined by himself. We knew that a little matter would cause the subscription paper to flag, & that any measures to censure the students would provoke them to withdraw their generosity. For mine own part, I wish that they had first accepted the resignation, but the Overseers saw fit to appoint a committee for the meer formality of a consultation with him, and they are to report next Thursday; after which I will write & acquaint you with the result of their conference & our determination.*

The last letter of your[s] favored me with some observations concerning the darkness which was the object of our enquiry at that time. I read them to M^r Williams. He has had a lecture upon the subject, which would have been printed if they had any spirit at Cambridge.† It will make part of the first volume of the Transactions of the American Academy. He promised me the perusal of it, but has been absent from Cambridge every time that I have called upon him. You asked me why I was not a member of the Academy, as M^r C. was enrolled in the number. I answer, that I had rather it should be said, Why was *not* M^r E.? than Why *was* M^r C.? (These things only *inter nos*. To speak seriously, it was meerly accidental that M^r C. was in the Society, according to what he says. I suppose it was owing to his particular connection with M^r Parsons, the lawyer, who made out the list.)

* For another account of the circumstances attending the resignation of President Langdon, see Quincy's History of Harvard University, vol. ii. pp. 176-181. — Eds.

† The paper referred to is entitled "An Account of a very uncommon Darkness in the States of New England, May 19, 1780, by Samuel Williams, A. M., Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy in the University at Cambridge," and is printed in the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. i. pp. 234-246. — Eds.

I cannot in this letter pay that attention to your arguments upon future happiness which they deserve. Go on, & prosper. At present, allowing that y^e arguments are much in favor of a universal restitution, yet it would not do to make it public at once. Eyes which have been for a long while blind must only gradually be admitted to the rays of the sun. If it was strict demonstration, I should not be against it. But some cavil can be made against every moral argument; and there are some cavillers to be found among the present generation.

I would relate a conversation between M^r H——y of Wells & myself, had I room. I wish to hear what you confab'd together.

While I think of it, did you not enquire who was the writer of the Friend to Learning & Politeness in opposition to James W——p about Clouds & Smoke? It was M^r Lathrop. I think it extremely well done. I could never procure a paper where were our joint speculations under the signature of the Well Wisher to Science.

You desired me likewise to pay M^r Gill, but he is determined not to receive any money. He has promised to draw out the account as many times as there are dollars due, but made excuses when I called for it. I told him yesterday that I would make no allowance for depretiation since the time I first offered to pay him. He promised me that next week he would certainly settle. He tells me that he sends the papers regularly. I, enclosed, send you a New Hampshire bill, begging you to get the interest for my mother, — perhaps some opportunity will be in your way.

With pleasure I send you such pamphlets as I have duplicates of, and shall continue so to do. My brother's sermon is printed, tho' late; I send M^r Merriam one, & would also M^r Haven, but I fear to make too large a packett, lest it should be imposing too much upon Brother Lathrop. I will send to him next time. You

will find the History of the War verging towards the government side. I can hardly think it is the same writer.

Shall I not say one word of politics in this long letter? How stand opinions among your politicians? We are chusing governors, senators, & mighty fine folks. We are fricasseeing ourselves into the ways of our allies, or, as D^r B. says, all-lies. These are now the *bon ton*. O, I want to relate a few puns fresh & new from the D^{rs} Cabinet. But I can't so well just now. I have not yet said half that I intended. Why, I wanted to speak about parish matters, yours & mine, &c., &c. (Do tell me what has become of the cottage? For they tell me M^r Leslie has gone to Washington, where *he* was destined among the purling streams, meandering brooks, bassamic fragrance, & where Madam intended to breath the air of Paradise.) How is Ruthy & the children? Something domestic must at least come upon the carpet? Our family is well, and send their respects.

Lest I should begin upon another paragraph, adieu.

Yrs. affectionately,

JOHN ELIOT.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

BOSTON, Decem^r 10th, Sun. Eve. [1780].

DEAR SIR, — Meeting very accidentally with Josy Allen yester afternoon, he enquired whether I had written an answer to your letter. This was the first item of knowledge about you since Col. Waters acquainted me with your welfare. (By the bye, why did you not write by y^e Col.? *Lift a man*, my lad. I did not know of his going, or I should have written to you.) M^r Allen wondered at my not receiving the letter, & told me he gave it to somebody who promised to deliver it per Friday. I found afterwards y^t the trusty hand was *my brother*

Mungo. *Here & there, &c.* He had forgotten poor me, & had not Josy luckily tarried over Sunday, you would have been deprived of the laugh w^{ch} I know will shake your sides before this period turns.

Well but for all, as women say, & to be serious, poor Cousin Ash is dead, and Lidy look[s] like patience upon a monument, not smiling, but really overcome with grief. I pity her with all my heart, for, besides relationship, Ash was a very clever fellow.

You received Sartine, &c.* Nothing said about it. You was in a hurry when you wrote last, I believe. I did not know of D^r Haven's going till it was too late to think about writing. I writ, however, since hearing from you. And I wish you to take notice. Be pleased to inform me the dates of all my letters, for I shrewdly suspect that you have not received all that I have sent. Several things of a question-like nature have been unnoticed, sometimes where I have been particular. 'Twas always so with Clarke, &c., and indeed with all my corresponding friends, and I doubt not you have passed the same censure upon me; and many of your sweet effusions have been lost between the cup & the lip, and I have not received the relish of them.

What packets I have sent to Deacon Penhallow's, I have generally heard of their reaching you, and shall more improve the place. What think you of Gill? He is a droll fellow, but I am like to be a gainer by the means. He has drawn out y^e account, but always forgets to bring it to the shop. I therefore took this way to remind him; purchased a number of pamphlets, & told him he should receive y^e pay altogether. The sum is become considerable, yet he still forgets, and I hope will

* The work referred to is "The Green Box of Monsieur de Sartine, found at Mademoiselle du The's Lodgings," a political *jeu d'esprit*, which was reprinted at Boston in 1779. It is in Dr. Belknap's list handed in at the fourth meeting of the Historical Society, and is now in the Society's library. — EDS.

never remember. However, we laugh at one another not a little. You was mistaken in supposing that he had any design in the neglect, or that his behaviour was any thing more than carelessness. I smiled at your gravity.

I wish I was near enough to take a stake with you before your butchering work is over. I will see Dover before I am 27 years of age, w^{ch} important period will come round before the first of next June. Why did you not come electioneering? I want to tell all about that remarkable day, but cannot, because here's Johnny Tileston & Jedidiah Parker come to spend the evening with me, & my letter must be sealed up before bed time. I suppose D^r Haven tho' gave the minutia.

I heard the other day a droll affair about you, which I must find room to mention. You preached, 'tis said, before the Association of Ministers, & threw out so many heretical hints y^t you was obliged to appear as a candidate for a moderate reproof. "Be ye wise as serpents," says our great Master, &c. It will not do to vent these sentiments at present. (You know what I mean, the *pudding*, as D^r Chauncy calls it.) People's minds are not ripe enough. Murray has tended to irritate the passions of those whom we call worthy men, rather than to mollify their minds with ointment to receive a doctrine any ways similar to what he hath propagated. They are not able to distinguish between y^e restitution of all things upon his plan, and the other scheme which employs the attention & arrests the assent of so many of y^e wise & learned of y^e modern New England clergy.

D^r Chauncy has repeatedly spoken to me, sometimes in an angry tone, about you, that you have several MSS. of his which he wishes you to return. I think I mentioned this in a former letter. I wish you would send them to me by the first opportunity.

I never heard Sam. speak upon y^e subject of your hint.

Did you ever receive y^e last number of the War from me?

My sister Betsy is ill; the Doctor thinks in a consumption. This concurs with my own opinion, — at least that she is near it, if not far gone.

My love to Ruthy. My mother & family join with me. Kiss little Johnny, little Andrew, &c.

Yours affectionately,

JOHN ELIOT.

Inadvertently indorsed "1787" by Dr. Belknap.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

BOSTON, February, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I could wish there were more regular conveyances between Boston & Dover, tho' I am very willing to put myself to y^e trouble of writing one or more letters for the sake of the answers w^{ch} I receive from you, even if you answer but one for three, or in a larger proportion on my side. I have to thank you for your last letter, w^{ch} was replete with many fine observations, great good sense, with a little mixture of that enthusiasm w^{ch}, whether we call it luxuriance of genius or exuberance of a good heart, tends to bring pleasure rather than conviction.

You are very sanguine about the good effect w^{ch} will issue fm. the publication of D^r C. MSS. (alias the pudding). I must beg leave to differ from your opinion; and y^e D^r himself agrees with me in thinking you to be erroneous. I told you that I was afraid of the consequences, viz^t that it would give offence to many serious, good Xtians, & cause them to think y^t we were giving up the sentiments generally supposed to be agreeable to Scripture for the sake of gratifying the humours of Murray & others of a loose way of thinking. I find this to be

the case more and more, and I really believe that the publication of the D^r MSS. at this time would be very prejudicial to the interests of religion. People are influenced amazingly by sounds, and (this way, I mean) they know no difference between Universal Salvation & Murrayism. They suppose that M^r Murray allows future punishm^t. Yet by giving up part of y^e strength or degree he is loosning the bonds of morality & religion. And to be sure, say they, there is no need of opening the flood-gates of vice at the present day! But, say you, who are these? Men governed by the meer prejudices of education. I tell you, Nay. But the best & most serious people among us. They have the Bible in y^r hands, & we must allow y^t y^e *current* of Sc. is in y^r favor. By w^{ch} I mean the common expression as it is adapted to them who are not learned in other languages, or mighty in the Scps., yet who have sincere & honest hearts. In answer to y^s shd. you say that the MSS. wld. convince them, I must here be constrained to think differently. Because that is rather a work of criticism, & requires much erudition to understand. From what is here suggested, I am led to think that this is not the season for opening our minds upon the future restitution. But your line of observations hath extended a different way; and you appear to found your arguments upon the supposition that men are too lax rather than too rigid in their principles. You seem to think our people are Murrayites, & have too little rather than too much sense of future punishment. Hence many observations are very just from your view of y^e matter y^t do not strike me with the same force. I will readily grant you every conclusion w^{ch} you have drawn from these premises, and that it would be high time to publish y^e MSS. & to speak more openly if M^r Murray's sentiments prevailed among men of thought & who made y^e Holy Scps. their study. But instead of this, I know no one man of education in any of y^e States

who joins with M^r Murray, except you reckon Mitchell Sewall; and concerning him, *sufficit*. His followers in Boston are the young, gay, volatile part, who attend upon him meerly for the sake of joining in the laugh about hell & damnation, &c., to whom were we to preach a more rational scheme of religion, it would be like casting pearl before swine.

I acknowledge that my opinion is altered about the good effect of M^r M's preaching in opening a scene for the introduction of the better things, &c. I did think that his preaching, as the Law was to y^e Gospel, would serve as a shadow, & that ours would be the substance. But every thing has been managed so injudiciously by the abettors of M^r M., that, instead of divesting people of y^r prejudices, their minds are now doubly cased with adamant, & their hearts absolutely steeled ag. the impressions w^{ch} I fondly thought would be made by our observations upon the Scriptural doctrines. You say that the people cannot be more prejudiced against any thing w^{ch} we deliver than the Jewish nation were prejudiced against the Xtian religion. Very true. Nor do I suppose them equally set ag. what we should declare. For it required y^e use of miracles even to win y^e hearts of Cts. disciples, nor were their understandings convinced by any ordinary methods. Whereas I sincerely believe that by prudence, or what in my apprehension is styled Christian policy, we may persuade men. This has already been managed with success, so as to bring over many of the first divines in New England to the faith of an universal salvation.

This leads me to that w^{ch} appears to lay with weight upon your mind, viz^t that by our present conduct we act inconsistent with the fidelity required of us by our grt. Ld. & Master in our stations, & that we are backward in opening the eyes of the people, instructing them in the knowledge of y^e truth, &c. If I have used y^e term

Xtian policy in a right sense, this cannot be any objection. Yet if the word don't suit you, it will be equally agreeable to me to say "necessary caution." This you allow after explaining away the words of our Saviour & some other expressions of Scripture w^{ch} have served as a cloak for them who have faith, yet who keep it to themselves. Whether the words of Christ & his Apostles will admit the construction we have put upon them or not, there is no dispute between us about the general result of our Master's advice, that there is a certain caution to be observed by us in our behaviour with our people & with the rest of the world. The only difference w^{ch} can be between us is concerning the extent of this caution. I may carry it to what you call trimming. Yet I think it no more than such a wisdom as Ct. recommended to his disciples.

Every doctrine w^{ch} is necessary to salvation* I think ought to be delivered from the pulpit, & is a part of the counsel of God w^{ch} he ought to declare. But the future restitution of all things explained in y^e MS. is not thus necessary to be known. For we certainly allow that many shall sit down in y^e kingdom of Christ who are ignorant about the present system, as we were when we knew no more than what is delivered in the Assembly's Catechism. There are many honest souls in the way to heaven who really believe in y^e everlasting torments of the wicked, because, notwithstanding their sentiments about these matters, they do the will of y^r Father & follow after holiness.

Everything w^{ch} can be looked upon as a motive to acquiring the disposition necessary to partake of the happiness of those who love Jesus at his appearing in the next or *Aionian* state, I am fully of opinion should be com-

* I desire to be understood to mean the happiness of Christ's kingdom, where I have used the word Salvation above. — *Note by Mr. Eliot.*

municated to our people ; it is ministerial fidelity so to preach. The subject of the universal restitution appears to me an object of speculation affording great comfort to rational enquirers, but by no means necessary to be commonly known. Indeed, the Holy Ghost would have been more explicit had it been proper for the consideration of all. You must be sensible that every text in Scripture w^{ch} favors it can be construed otherwise, and that many will be disposed so to construe them. Hence it seems to be a satisfaction they are not deserving of, — I mean the pleasure of speculation, — tho' these very persons may be very good Christians.

One sentiment I will communicate. It may have nothing more than novelty to recommend it. Perhaps you'll say, WHIM. It appears to me that the Sp. of God has revealed just so much of this truth as to excite the attention of those who make y^e Word of God their principle study, & that the pleasure resu[l]ting from their speculation is the reward of their labour: and a great reward it is. For we have this in addition to the advantages w^{ch} we enjoy in common with others. To sum up this head. I shall never blame myself for a want of sincerity in my office, if I teach people to do justly, love mercy, & walk humbly with their God, or if I do my endeavours to persuade men to love God, to love Christ, to do to others as we would they should do to us, &c., &c.

Objections of this kind I am sensible will be alledged, that to convince deis[t]s, &c., we ought to represent the Gospel in its full beauty, and that by discovering the plan of restitution it would shine with such lustre as to dissipate all their objections. This would do if such persons were rational enquirers, but they are as ready to object against the morality & other excellencies (w^{ch} are so evident as need nothing, one would think, but to be seen to be admired) as against any sanctions or motives to enforce obedience to the law.

Experience will best decide these things. Many dissenting ministers in England preach constantly upon the subject of universal happiness. M^r Relly hath his followers upon his plan. M^r Wesley preaches to the most numerous audience the very sentiments of the MSS. (yet M^r Murray left M^r Wesley & went to M^r Relly). The old Puritans also defend their notions, & hold forth flames, eternal death, damnation, &c. And it seems, after all, that D^r Price, M^r Bourn, & the most shining characters, assert an annihilation of the wicked.

I mention these things to shew that no great benefit will accrue from publishing the MSS. Men *will* have their own ways of thinking. There are deists in England. D^r Chauncy says that the present is the worst time which could ever happen, for men's minds are too much absorbed in politics to attend unto anything else. He says also, that you have given too confined a meaning to the texts of Scripture which you quote in your letter.

The *pudding* is a word which he uses when persons are nigh not acquainted with our sentiments, thus styling the MSS. A word that happen[ed] to come uppermost once when he wanted to know the sentiments of an absent gentleman, — Doth he relish the pudding?

You have doubtless heard of my sister Betsy's death. She lingered from September to 30th December, & went off very suddenly that night, — in a happy frame of mind, sensible to the last, but in great pain, from the ulcers breaking and reaching her throat, till the finishing stroke of her dissolution.*

I receive much benefit from your letters. Write often. I have a number of pamphlets which would afford me pleasure to send you, — M^r Bowdoin's Oration, &c. I sent you every number of the War, but will send the first again.

* The death is announced in "The Continental Journal" of Jan. 4, 1781, as follows: "Last Sunday morning departed this life, in the 34th year of her age, Miss Elizabeth Eliot, eldest daughter of the late Rev. Dr. Eliot, of this town. Her remains were decently interred yesterday afternoon." — Eds.

You need never worry yourself about Gill's account. He is a *careless fellow*; that is his whole crime. I will settle the affair, & won't pay him my own till he gives me yours. He will send the papers.

Love to Ruthy & the children.

Yrs. affectionately,

JOHN ELIOT.

MESHECH WEARE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

EXETER, June 20th, 1781.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 12th instant I duly receivd. It gives me particuler satisfaction that you have proceeded so far in your History of New-Hampshire. The great advantages of perpetuateing memoirs of the transactions and various occurencies which may have hapned in any community from its first rise never appeared to me in a more strikeing light than since the commencement of the present disputes. Great advantages I am perswaded might have been reaped from it had such been preserved respecting the settlement of this countrey, and the several Colonies and States in it, but there has been a great deficiency in this with respect to New Hampshire. I am glad, Sir, that you are engaged in a business that will be of so much advantage, as well as afford entertainment, not only to the present, but future generations. I earnestly desire you, Sir, to pursue the matter as far as your leasure will permitt. I will take the first convenient oppertunity to have the liberty of the General Court for their officers to furnish you with such papers out of their respective offices as you may think necessary for your assistance. Any other materials that I can collect I will use my endeavors to procure, perticularly the paper you mention respecting M^r Gove. You will receive herewith the letter from General Sullivan which I mentiond to you, the queries proposd by the Minister from France, and the General's answer to

them. These may serve to suggest some things for your enquiry. It would have given me perticular satisfaction could I have found an oppertunity to have waited on you when I was last at Dover, which was my intention; but the business of the Court, and its riseing sooner than I expected, prevented me.

I am, Sir, with much esteem & respect,

Y^r ob^t & hum^{le} ser^t,

M. WEARE.

Rev^d Mr Belknap.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

BOSTON, July 10, [1781].

DEAR FRIEND, — You must pardon me for not writing. I devoted last night to the business, but was really overcome by the heat to such a degree as made me indulge a thought of leaving it till this morning. I am now obliged to visit several persons extremely low on beds of sickness, &, as M^r H. tells me he must set off immediately, w^{ch} is very contrary to my expectation, I must deprive myself of the pleasure till another opportunity. He is a fine, sensible, worthy man. I mentioned to him the MSS. that is the subject [of] so much speculation among certain modern divines. He wishes to see it; but I find is more wavering about some matters even than myself. What his opinion may be after having seen y^e subject set forth in the Scriptural light w^{ch} D. C. had done, I know not. But my opinion of him is that he reflects upon all things with a mind free from prejudice, & what he judges to be truth will be received in his embraces.

Love to Ruthy & the children.

Yrs., JOHN ELIOT.

Please to accept the History of the War.

I have several pamphlets, could I now look them over, which shd. be at your service.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

BOSTON, July 31, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I always know full well your habit of body by reading your letters, or at least can feel of your mental pulse, which I set down to be greatly influenced by the animal frame, and from your last letter I suppose you to be not so well as I could wish. Why so much in the glooms? What reason had you for such a melancholy reverie? There was much good humour in what I received previously to my writing the short scrip by Col. Waters, which led me to think well rather than ill of your present condition, and to experience pleasing sensations upon contemplating your welfare & happiness. However, there hath something intervened which I find hath created you uneasiness, or revived former complaints, perhaps of your people's negligence or unfaithfulness about their promised maintenance. Is not this the case? Then they are a set of ungrateful rascals, and unworthy of so great a privilege & blessing as they now enjoy by having a connection with you. You say that you want to ask my advice about a matter of importance. I wish that you had written the particulars; for I fear about receiving it *viva voce*. I am afraid I shall not be able to reach Dover this fall, which cannot be more of a disappointment to you or Ruthy than to myself. For it is what I have anticipated as well as fully expected; and having tasted the pleasure in prospect, should not suffer a small matter to deprive me in reality.

But without more preamble, matters are thus & so with me. I am in a confounded strait for money; or at present spend as much as I get, tho' not so much as is due from my people. Saturday night generally makes me even with the world; and with regard to temporal things I am neither better nor worse than I was y^e week before.

I had from my little perquisites laid up a little of y^e shining specie in a corner of my trunk, w^{ch} I often surveyed, not because it was money, but because I meant to spend it in taking a journey to my mind by y^e middle of September. But in a ride from Salem last week a new call was made upon me which deprived me of this portion. My horse threw me out of a carriage w^{ch} belonged to Carlestown, and, besides endangering my limbs, broke it very much, and obliged me to launch near two Joes for repairs. Nor was it an unreasonable charge, considering y^e damage y^t was done. It has, however, made havoc of my purse. Indeed, it takes no small matter to live here in Boston. Everything is so abominably high that it is difficult to procure y^e necessaries of subsistence, tho' y^e bounties of Providence roll in upon us like a flood. Ministers' salaries are inadequate to a support with a family, which is one main reason of y^e *singular estate* of your humble servant. But yet I have a family which is obliged to look up to me, at lest for aid. If I am able to reach your Cacheco plains this fall, I will exhibit myself. If I do not come, do not impute it to want of good will, or of very earnest desires. As to Ruthy, my love to her, and tell her it is a part of her duty to keep you out of the dumps.

D^r Chauncy says that you may take the MSS. from M^r Thayer, and desires that you will send them home by a careful hand, & soon as possible after reading them. He very often enquires after you, & evidently bears no small marks of esteem & affection.

What you write about M^r Murray's preaching in your pulpit is new to me, but I must think you acted with prudence, & that no bad consequences will follow from it. I have been reading Relly's Union, & it appears upon repeated inspections to be as compleat a *dish of hodge podge* as most other essays upon mystical subjects. If vices & sins are material substances, & capable in them-

selves of bearing punishment, why are y^e virtues abstractly considered incapable of receiving y^e rewards promised to y^e good, &c. ? And if virtue, y^e meer abstract idea, is to be rewarded, & vice punished, what is man but a meer *caput mortuum* ? Such to be sure are the persons if the promises & threatenings of y^e Gospel only apply unto y^e qualities. Murray, it seems, hath added much to what his master Rely had written, at least to what we have seen printed in his Union. You took a right method of confuting him by the plan of your discourses, and it will be strange if he makes further progress in Dover, except among the [word erased], &c., — the tares which grow up in your soil, and who will soon be burnt up, literally speaking, with rum & other liquors, if they are not given over to the lake that burneth in the other world.

How is old Uncle Toby in his temporal as well as spll. concerns ?

We somewhat expected you down at Commencement. A truly academical day it was. Wigglesworth exceeded y^e expectation of his warmest friends, and did honour to himself & the Society. The young gentlemen behaved to a charm. French's* monologue was said to be a truly Garrick performance, & that in his gestures & command of his passions he may be supposed to equal that celebrated performer. Young Davis,† who spoke the poetry, is a genius of y^e first magnitude. His lines were Vergilian. Minot,‡ who concluded y^e day's exercises with the valedictory oration, was the most graceful orator among the several speakers. Old Mother Harvard is a good old dame enough, & will nourish many likely children who

* Peter French, A. M., born in Sandown, N. H., Sept. 21, 1759; died in Berwick, in the District of Maine, Jan. 14, 1785. — EDS.

† John Davis, LL. D., third President of the Historical Society. (See note, *post*, p. 603.) — EDS.

‡ George Richards Minot, A. M., one of the original members of the Historical Society, was born in Boston, Dec. 22, 1758, and died there Jan. 2, 1802. — EDS.

are yet to come. Your friend here was very set against a public Commencement, thinking that the consequences would be rather bad as to rioting & wantonness, and that the *Præses pro tem.* would be no advantage to the performances. I am glad to be disappointed, and rejoice that my motion was overruled. Your company would have made y^e scene more pleasant to many, more especially to myself.

You say that your only pleasure is in Hystoriography, which acquires also its excellency from your peculiar situation. I wish my situation was so as to be able to read more than I do, nor could I refrain from scribbling upon the same subject. But, alas! time to me is as precious and rare as hard money; and I pay y^e most enormous tax of any man in y^e community. For the bare visiting my people takes me up entirely, or would if I did as much as they demand of me. And what is worse is, that there is no kind of entertainment in such company. Many clergymen may make companions of y^r parishioners. But mine in general are to be kept at their proper distance. They are poor, & many of them very ignorant; very few conversible, but just to amuse after y^e fatigue of study, & it my poor lot not to get time to obtain a relish for science, or to indulge the *gouût*, much more to fatigue myself. We talked together about a matter meerly biographical, and when I saw you last I determined to devote myself in a measure to obtain an acquaintance with the affairs of New England, & to illustrate some of y^e characters who have been exhibited on the theatre of this rising empire. I thought that, being a single man, I should have great opportunities; but I soon found myself mistaken. At last I determined to give Friday, or one day in the week, to y^e purpose of reading & writing upon these matters. But I find y^t Friday comes; sometimes former neglects oblige me to sermonize; sometimes company detains me within doors,

at others without; so that I do but little; nothing as yet in writing way. And what I shall do hereafter will be only to throw in as mites to your abundance.

I submit to your superior judgm^t a plan w^{ch} you will accept, revise, alter, or destroy, as you shall see best.

The biographical dictionary to be divided into 8 parts.

1st. Members of Congress, ambassadors, &c.

2^d. Magistrates of y^e particular States, Governors, senators, judges, &c.

3^d. Heads of Colleges, divines, professors, schoolmasters, &c.

4th. Physicians & philosophers.

5^{thly}. Officers of the army, &c.

Sixly. Poets & other ingenious persons, who have distinguished themselves by y^r writings. Historians, &c. Here likewise we shall consider y^e ladies y^t have rendered themselves eminent.

Seventhly. Painters, mechanics, &c.

Eighthly. Persons in low life, remarkable for age, deformities, &c., convicts, &c.

Perhaps the officers of y^e army may rank most properly in the third place.

I am now reading the large work of y^e Abbé Reynal. It is in French. Did you ever see this, or the abridgement?

There is nothing here of a political nature worth mentioning. You have y^e newspapers, an impure fountain, but the only one I have drawn from lately. When will there be peace?

The enclosed bill will do me no good. If it will pass in your State I shall be glad. You remember you sent me 60 dollars, Old Emission, which I have never been able to pay to M^r Gill, who is a man loth to settle his accounts. You must remember y^e exchange at the time I received it, for I took care to spend it for something or other.

I wish you would inform me of y^e state of your Loan Office. My mother hath a bill upon New Hampshire about 300 dollars, the interest of which would be acceptable.

The family are all well here & at Fairfield. Mungo is at Newport. We send regards to you & Ruthy.

Have you seen M^r Bowdoin's Oration at y^e commencement of y^e American Academy? Brother Keith's Oration before y^e Free Masons? D^r Cooper's Sermon upon y^e Constitution, &c.? I have them, & would improve y^e opportunity of sending y^m by your father, but some good friends who have borrowed have forgotten to return them. The enclosed is a pamphlet you may have seen. I have a duplicate, & this asks your acceptance. The hankerchief is part of a venture I had from Cadiz, and desires Ruthy's acceptance. I sent for silk stockings & received silk handkerchiefs. But I will not turn merchant. I gained nothing by my venture but anxiety about the risk.

Yrs. affectionate.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

BOSTON, Sep. 5th, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — Hearing accidentally that M^r Hazard is in town, and purposes to set out for Dover this day, I am loth to miss the opportunity of writing, tho' I must run the venture of finding the gentleman mentioned. Perhaps we may meet at Cambridge, for the Dudlean Lecture sermon is to be preached there by D^r Gordon, & upon a subject I wish to hear at this time, Popery being a delicate point to handle, where people boast of their alliance with Roman Catholic powers. I find y^e Abbé Reynal, tho' a Frenchman & much celebrated by their nation, affords us such a description of England

that one would think him an enthusiastic admirer of everything belonging to that island. What think you of this passage, w^{ch} concludes the account of y^e Dutch settlements? “Industrious Hollanders, formerly so brave & now rolling in affluence, having resisted the power of y^e despot and bruised y^e serpent’s head, be not again brought under the yoke of bondage. Manifest to y^e world y^t y^e spt. of commerce may be united with y^e spirit of liberty. From your own banks behold a people whom nature hath set before you as a model, as well as a rival. Turn your eyes towards England, & as her alliance hath ever been your support, let her example serve you as a rule.” My own opinion of y^e Abbé is that he is an eloquent writer, rather than a man of correct judgment; that he follows the suggestions of a fine fancy, rather than observes what D^r Chauncy calls y^e *truth of fact*. He is evidently an infidel, & disingenuous enough to fling at y^e moral precepts of the Gospel. He is not one, however, whom the enemies of our holy religion would depend upon as y^e champion of their cause, and may be set down to be more like a Paris than a Hector.

What you wrote of y^e paper called “The Temple” excited my curiosity; I have heard more about it since. It is a meer flurry of that gentleman’s brain who attended your lecture. Most of the gentlemen said by him to be engaged in y^e work know nothing about it. The others have heard of it only in the way in which it was communicated to you. There will be an abortion.

I fear that I cannot see Dover this fall, and yet many things I wish to enlarge upon & suggest w^{ch} cannot be done otherwise than by *vivâ voce*. My brother will be from F——d this week. He lives in y^e midst of war; they go to meeting armed. You know how a congregation was stole away just by him. I must mention one particular concerning that affair w^{ch} found not its way into y^e public papers. The commanding officer of y^e

British told the people assembled that he would not disturb old men nor women & children. When they were taking out the able-bodied ones, M^{rs} Mather, the parson's wife, had wit enough to secure a young fellow about sixteen or 17 years old by taking him under her petticoats, where he lay snug till all was over. It was mentioned to me that she covered him with her apron, &c., but in such a manner that I was obliged to conclude that the frightened animal did not think this was sufficient security.

Poor Dr Mather of Boston has lost his wife. She was buried the night before last. Her ail was a consumption upon her lungs. Daniel Hubbard's son Daniel was buried last night. He died of a violent fever.

In general it is healthy with us for the season. Dysentery prevails but little. Weather cool & comfortable.

I wish to exchange situations with you for a little while. I am tired to death of company, — those in whose company there is neither profit or entertainment. Wish for more time to study, or to be less interrupted by impertinent visitors, & to be obliged to make fewer impertinent visits. Such I call all them, where it is only, How do you do? &c. A cool air today, &c., &c. I tried yesterday to get one half hour to write to you & was not able. Perhaps I may now lose the chance of sending. Mr H——d will tell you all news of a public & academical nature. The destination of the French fleet is the tub of our present diversion. May we see more peaceable & honest times.

Respects to all friends. Love to Ruthy & the children.

And am your affectionate and humble servant,

J. ELIOT.

JOSEPH BUCKMINSTER TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

PORTSMO., October y^e 27, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I thank you for your billets, and will with pleasure deliver the inclosed. M^{rs} Dana is at Kittery and Miss Stevens cannot leave her next week. I shall if possible wait on you on Wed^y. M^r Huntington's plan is lent or lost; wish it were in my power to send it by the bearer. You shall have it soon as I can recover it. You probably have heard the noise that has almost stunned us here. The news is that Cornwallis has surrendered unconditionally to Gen^l Washington. This comes by express from N. Goodale, member of the House at Boston, who writes thus to M^r Derby and others at Salem: "An express has this minute arrived from Newport, announcing the unconditional surrender of the *proud Cornwallis*, with his whole army, to the *illustrious Washington*, on y^e 20 instant." D^r Haven was for going into the meeting house on the occasion and sing^g *Te Deum*. I tho't it would be early enough when we had authentic or official intelligence. Excuse haste.

Your obdnt.,

J. BUCKMINSTER.

* Rev. Joseph Buckminster, D. D., minister of the North Church, Portsmouth, N. H., was born in Rutland, Mass., Oct. 14, 1751, graduated at Yale College in 1770, was settled in Portsmouth as successor of Rev. Dr. Langdon in 1779, and died June 10, 1812, while on a journey. He is frequently referred to in these letters as "Buck." — Eds.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO JOHN ELIOT.*

1781, Dec^r 5.

DEAR SIR, — I constantly feel y^e want of such a friend as you are to converse with, & especially when I meet with any difficulty or any new tho't pops into my head which I want to turn round & round and examine inch by inch, as I think every thing ought to be before it is admitted for truth in speculation or made a rule of conduct. But tho' I am deprived of the pleasure of conversing with you, yet I am glad I can have you for a correspondent, & therefore, without any more preamble, I will ask your opinion upon a thought I have lately started. It is this.

We are told in sundry places of y^e N. Test^t y^t y^e Gospel was preached to y^e *whole world*, to *every creature under heaven*, &c., & this was agreeable to y^e commission w^h our Lord gave his Apostles, & to y^e design of setting up his kingdom, y^e benefits & blessings of w^{ch} were intended for all men without respect of persons. We have accounts in Eccl^l Hist^y of the travels of y^e Apostles & first min^{rs} into almost every part of y^e world w^{ch} was then known, not only among polished but savage nations, & of their establishing chhs. wherever they found sufficient success. If it was necessary that y^e Gospel should be thus *universally* published *at that time & by that set of men*, who were endowed with peculiar powers for the purpose, why was not the Gospel at that time & by those men brought into *America*? Were not the Americans as much concerned in the redemption of X as y^e Europeans, Asians, & Africans? And could it be said with truth (allowing even an hyper-

* Dr. Belknap kept copies of but few of his own letters; but he frequently made a rough draft of a letter which he thought important. In these rough drafts there are numerous erasures and interlineations; and entire sentences or paragraphs are frequently transferred from one part of the letter to another. The letter here printed is from such a draft, and is indorsed in his own hand, "Copy to John Eliot, 1781." — Eds.

bole in the expression) y^t the Gospel was preached to *every creature under heaven*, if y^e inhabitants of such an immense continent are to be excepted? Should it be said y^t America was unknown to y^e Apostles, it may be answ^d that it was not unknown to Him that sent them, & if it was his will that all mankind should hear his Gospel preached by those Apostles, why were not things so prepared in the course of Providence as that a way should be found out to carry y^e Gospel to America while the Apostles were living, as well as afterward to carry Spanish tyranny & superstition thither? Why were not even miracles wro't to shew the Apostles the way? Why were they not inspired with y^e knowledge of y^e magnetic needle, & with y^e same penetration which Columbus discovered in reasoning out the probability of another continent?

I know it has been boldly said that "this continent was certainly known to the first preachers of the Gospel, & y^t the Gospel was brought here by one or more of the Apostles." (I need not cite my author; he is a worthy, good neighbour & friend of yours.) This is a conclusion drawn from y^e texts abovementioned, & if it were an undisputed fact that America was inhabited by men at that time, I do not see how we can get over the difficulties which will arise from a denial of this conclusion. But I am inclined to draw another from it, viz. *that America was not then peopled*. If this be admitted, all the difficulties at once vanish, & though it be not capable of demonstration, yet there are appearances which render it probable that the population of America is an event w^{ch} has taken place within the Christian Æra. Not to mention the notion which Abbé Raynal & Charlevoix have adopted, that America is but newly emerged from the water, the state of arts & cultivation, even in the celebrated kingdoms of Mexico & Peru, will not give them claim to a distant antiquity. If we compare y^m with

the ancient kingdoms of Egypt & Assyria, we must give the preference to the latter, which were established & had risen to a great degree of civilization & improvement in a few centuries after the dispersion at Babel. I acknowledge y^t the Peruvians had learnt a more rational religion, or at least their principles had a much better effect on their morals, than the empires above mentioned, but this may be attributed to other causes than length of time, & must, or we shall be sadly puzzled to account for the want of a more general benevolence in the oldest communities. If I remember right, Robertson says the Mexicans & Peruvians had hieroglyphic annals* which reached back but a few centuries, & Athahualpa, or Atabulipa, was but the twelfth Ynca in succession from Manco Capac, who first reduced them to a regular government. Allowing 30 years for each of these to have reigned, (which is 7 years more than y^e medium of y^e English reigns from y^e Norman Conquest to Q. Eliz^a.) the empire of Manco will not reach a remoter period than the end of y^e twelfth century of the Christian Æra, & he may be placed as a cotemporary wth Henry 2^d. If there can be any analogy drawn from the progress of other nations from a savage to a civilized state, y^e Egyptians, Assyrians, & Chinese, that is, to y^e same degree of improvem^t w^{ch} the Peruvians were in at y^e time of y^e Spanish discovery, there could not, methinks, intervene more than 3 or 4 centuries between their emigration from whatever part of the world they did come from & y^e setting up of Manco's empire. If they came from China or Japan, as some have supposed, they must have brought some degree of refinement with them, which is a circumstance that will confirm my conjecture. And I own I cannot concieve what should make so vast a difference between y^m & those

* Supposing them to have been at the time of their migration ignorant of the hieroglyphic art, why may we not suppose them to have invented it as early after their settlement as the Egyptians? — *Note by Mr. Belknap.*

Indians of a more northern climate, unless they were of a different origin.

These conjectures I venture to you, depending on your friendship to tell me whether they are worthy of any attention or mere whims. If they should excite any curiosity in you to talk on y^e subject with any friend, I beg you would not expose *me*, but let me hear your opinion or y^e opinions of others freely & critically.

	Reigns.	Years.	Each Reign at a Medium.	
Kings of Judah from David to Josiah,	17	438	26	} Index to Bible.
Israel from Jeroboam I. to Jerob ^m 2 ^d ,	12	191	16	
Babylon fr ^o Nabuchodnosor I. to Belshazzar,	7	133	17	
Cappadocia fr ^o Ariarathes I. to Archelaus,	14	378	27	} Rollin's Chrono- logical Table.
Pontus fr ^o Mithridates 1 to Mithridates 6,	10	339	34	
Roman Emperors from Augustus to Commodus,	17	235	14	} Mat Prideaux.
German Emperors before Charles V. (<i>includ^d him</i>),	13	285	22	
Kings of England from W ^m Conq ^r to Eliz ^a ,	23	537	23	Hume.
	110)	2536	(23 Gen ^l Medium.	

Medium between 34 & 14 = 24.

To the Rev^d John Eliot.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Reverend M^r Belknap, Dover.

Boston, Febr 1, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — Your letters are not less valuable because unacknowledged. I know not of an opportunity to send w^t I am now writing, but y^t no construction may be put upon my silence unfavorable to my character as your friend, which I am ambitious of preserving, I'll employ my pen & perhaps may catch an opportunity of sending it. If not, you will see by y^e date y^t I am not so wholly

negligent as otherwise you might think, & with y^e greatest propriety.

Sam was kind enough to favor me with a sight of your speculation before it went to y^e press, to which I pressed to have it carried, & without flattery think it an ornament to y^e paper, & y^t y^e plan carried into execution would be of great public utility.* There is certainly a very great difference between a learned & a liberal education, tho' it is in no place observed less than in y^e town of Boston, where y^e mode of instruction & the teachers themselves are a compleat exhibition of our inattention to matters w^{ch} ought greatly to interest us, & which tend to ensure our own happiness as well as our usefulness to others. We don't pretend to teach y^e female part of y^e town anything more than dancing, or a little music perhaps, (and these accomplish^{ts} must necessarily be confined to a very few,) except y^e private schools for writing, which enables them to write a copy, sign their name, &c., which they might not be able to do without such a privilege, & with it I will venture to say that a lady is a rarity among us who can write a page of commonplace sentiment, the words being well spelt, & y^e style & language kept up with purity & elegance. We gallants are often mortified to find y^t our — fail in these respects, even in their *billet doux*s. The fault must certainly be in their education, and yet men of influence do not listen to their complaints. Something more than usual is, however, now said about it. People of taste are somewhat more

* The "speculation" here referred to was perhaps a communication which appeared in "The Boston Evening Post" on the day following the date of this letter, and which is thus introduced: "Boston, Jan. 30, 1782. Mr. Powars, — The following remarks on Education, lately received from a friend in the country, are offered for a place in your (hitherto) very valuable paper. They are on a subject of the last importance, and appear to me to contain propositions that greatly merit the attention of the publick. CIVIS." The concluding paragraph of the communication is as follows: "I need not enlarge, but I cannot conclude without hinting an hearty wish that the FEMALE mind might enjoy some of the benefits of a public education, and be dignified with principles of wisdom and virtue, while the external form, manners, and actions are graced with the usual polite accomplishments." — EDS.

sensible of y^e error, & it was y^e seasonable moment therefore to publish your letter. I shall pursue y^e same subject, & wish you likewise to go on in y^r good work.

There is a monk of y^e order of S^t Francis in town, a young fellow of sense, taste, & liberality of sentiment in religious opinions as well as other matters, who speaks in raptures of y^e Bostonian misses. He shew me a letter y^e other day w^{ch} he had written to his sister in France, where he makes a comparison between y^e manners of y^e ladies in Boston & his own country, & from this she must be led to think y^t our female acquaintance equal all w^{ch} we wish them to excell in. "They are sensible, virtuous, discreet, constant, and love to travel, [here you must observe y^e Frenchism, y^e French word *travailler* answers to our word *to work*, & he meant to say y^t they were *very notable*,] they are faithful in y^r friendships & matrimonial connections, &c., &c. Whereas the French ladies are remarkable for y^r [illegible] & insincerity, their idleness, imprudence, coquetry, & every other folly & vice." I think as he doth about the madames & mademoiselles, & I did not undeceive him with regard to them of whom he had such an exalted opinion. He shew me a translation of y^e letter into English, which was generally correct. We have mutually this advantage of exposing to each other the faults made in different language. I have been learning French this winter, & applied very closely to it under a master who continues to wait upon me every day. I could read in y^e language before, tho' with a very bad pronunciation. I can now write it & speak it somewhat fluently. The French Abbé comes to meeting often, & I have been to hear mass on board his ship. We discoursed together about our persuasions, when he delivers such sentiments as these: "I love a good Protestant as well as a good Papist. The disciple of Ct. cannot be of a persecuting spirit & every good member of y^e Ch. of Rome must condemn y^e Inquisition. You may love Christ, tho'

you differ from me in many things, & if you love Christ you are a good man." In public he appear[s] with great dignity & devotion, is a very fine looking man. In private he is y^e merry, sociable, facetious companion, dresses like one of us, & is fond of associating with y^e clergy of the town. I suspect whether he ever means to return to his convent.

We have had an ordination since you left Boston, & a very curious one, I assure you. It was agreed upon by the delegates of your mother church to sift y^e candidate, M^r Everett, very closely.* And as soon as he had read his confession, Dⁿ Jeffres began y^e business by asking w^t he thought of y^e Godhead of Jesus Ct.? Brother Howard was opposed to him, & insisted that he declared in his confession every y^{ng} w^{ch} y^e Scripture had pointed out. M^r Eckley & others joined in y^e debate, some with y^e greatest vociferation (brother Sam's voice was heard among y^e rest). At last D^r Chauncy grew mad, told Dⁿ Jeffres he was a fool, & Dⁿ Greenough y^t he knew nothing, & was fit only to lift up his hand, w^{ch} was all any body expected from him. So we continued for an hour, & y^e ordination was upon y^e point of being sett aside, when D^r Aquinas Cooper with a very mellifluous tone begged to ask one question: "Do you believe, M^r Everett, that there are 3 persons, &c., & y^t these 3 are one?" "Yes, Sir." A vote passed upon this, that y^e Council were satisfied, except y^e Old South elder & delegates, who drew off, & left us with the meeting to ourselves. Deacon Simpkins & Dⁿ Bell went away with y^e minority. It was lucky y^e dispute turned upon y^e article of y^e trinity & exhausted y^e patience of y^e Council, for this was only a prelude to other matters w^{ch} would have set us all aghast. We might have been obliged to eat y^e

* Rev. Oliver Everett was settled over the New South Church, Jan. 2, 1782. He was born in Dedham, June 11, 1752, graduated at Harvard College in 1779, and died in Dorchester, Nov. 19, 1802. — Eds.

pudding, bag & all. After such a particular article of ecclesiastical news, you must not expect anything of a political nature. I could mention some little affairs about Cornwallis's surrender w^{ch} I have received from friend Major Shaw, who was upon the spot, but my letter now borders upon a Talmudic size. I note, however, every little anecdote for our future observation.

The subject of your last letter was curious, & it afforded me much pleasure. I have been long in doubt about the progress of civilization in South America before there were any European settlements. What you have said clears the point to my full satisfaction. And I agree with you likewise about its being void of inhabitants when the Gospel was first published among the nations. Nothing can be more just than your calculation, except that 30 years is much beyond what you need allow for the mean rate, but which you did, I suppose, for the sake of the *fortiori* plea. If any persons object from the climate of S. America having an influence upon y^e longevity of me[n], it will become them to exhibit the proof, &c.

Have you seen y^e late work of the Abbé Reynal? I will send it by the first opportunity. There is a question which I desire may employ your *cogitabundity*. Whether it has been an a[dvan]tage or otherwise that the continent of America was di[scover]ed? A prize of 50 Louis d'ors for the best piece written upon y^e subject [is offered] by the Academy of Lyons. I know of no American so deserving of [it] as yourself. D^r Mather tells me that he shall employ his pen upon the subject. He seems so sure of the reward that he has desired the Academy to give the guineas to 5 poor scholars. The prize will be adjudgd in 1783.

I wish you would at your leisure remark upon these questions: —

Whether there are most males or females born?

Whether more females that are single die under the age of 25 than married women?

What diseases are most frequent in the towns about Dover?

I keep an account of these things, & we may compare them with some calculations made in Europe by D^r Price.

Adieu for the present.

Continue to write often, & believe that I shall ever remain,

Yrs., JOHN ELIOT.

Love to Ruthy & the children.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d M^r. Belknap, Dover.

BOSTON, April 2^d, [1782]

DEAR SIR,— When you receive this I may perhaps be far from you on my journey to Philadelphia; and the next letter w^{ch} I write may be concerning matters & things w^{ch} I have seen in that famous city. I propose to accompany my friend, Major Shaw, who sets out this morning.

I am obliged to you for your calculations enclosed in your last letter, w^{ch} were accurate & full to my purpose. What you say about attending upon mass is not so readily agreed to. None, even the priest himself, suppose that we are influenced by anything more than an itch of curiosity. And we dispute as freely against it as anything whatever.

I find that you have written to Sam the same things which were noted to me about an Academy for the Belles Lettres. We consulted together about it. I talk[ed] the matter freely with M^r Sam^l Adams & other principal gentlemen of the place, using caution about your name; and I cannot but hope there will be encouragement for

the thing. No one thing could be more acceptable to me than to see you at the head of such an institution. Ruthy would assist you much in writing poetical epistles. She very *feelingly* describes the country parson's wife.* I advise her to go on to set forth y^e cottages, rivulets, &c. of the towns round Dover, & if she should reach Washington there are some sweet landskips already sketched out by, &c.

I will ask Sam to send you *Bounce & bounce about*, the subject of much conversation in town. I cannot dwell

* A versified description of the pleasures of a country life is frequently referred to in terms of praise in the letters of Dr. Belknap's correspondents, and is uniformly ascribed to his wife. But we suspect that they were misled, and that the lines were written by Mr. Belknap himself; for he would have enjoyed very much a laugh at the expense of his friends. Among the Belknap Papers are two copies of the verses, neither of which is in the handwriting of Mrs. Belknap. One, which has all the appearance of being an original draft, and has numerous corrections, not likely to have been made by any one except the author, is in the handwriting of Mr. Belknap. The other is in a hand not known to us, has an introductory paragraph, and differs slightly from the corrected copy. It is as follows:—

“DEAR COUSIN, — It is now Thanksgiving Night, and I should be thankful indeed if I could call and spend the evening with you, or have some agreeable friend call in upon me, but as this cannot be, I must converse this way. I have had frequent opportunities to *Boston* this fall, but expect this will be the last for some time; therefore am willing to improve it. And I think for your amusement I will send you ‘The Pleasures of a Country Life,’ written when I had a true taste of them by having no *maid*.

‘Up in the morning I must rise
Before I’ve time to rub my eyes.
With half-pin’d gown, unbuckled shoe,
I haste to milk my lowing cow.
But, Oh! it makes my heart to ake,
I have no bread till I can bake,
And then, alas! it makes me sputter,
For I must churn or have no butter.
The hogs with swill too I must serve;
For hogs must eat or men will starve.
Besides, my spouse can get no cloaths
Unless I much offend my nose.
For all that try it know it’s true
There is no smell like colouring blue.
Then round the parish I must ride
And make enquiry far and wide
To find some girl that is a spinner,
Then hurry home to get my dinner.

‘If with romantic steps I stray
Around the fields and meadows gay,
The grass, besprinkled with the dews,
Will wet my feet and rot my shoes.

on particulars, or I would mention the circumstances w^{ch} gave rise to these performances, the suspected authors, &c. I will desire Sam to do this, & beg you to wish me well till my next.

Adieu,

JOHN ELIOT.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Boston, June 17, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I should have written to you before this time, & given an account of my journey to the southward, but only waited to receive an answer from M^r Adams about some things relative to the affair you proposed to me, & of which I communicated something in my last letter. But as I find by what you wrote since to M^r E. that this has become a very serious object of your atten-

If on a mossy bank I sleep
Pismires and crickets o'er me creep,
Or near the purling rill am seen
There dire musquitos peirce my skin.
Yet such delights I seldom see
Confind to house and family.

'All summer long I toil & sweat,
Blister my hands, and scold & fret.
And when the summer's work is o'er,
New toils arise from Autumn's store.
Corn must be husk'd, and pork be kill'd,
The house with all confusion fill'd.
O could you see the grand display
Upon our annual butchering day,—
See me look like ten thousand sluts,
My kitchen spread with grease & guts,—
You'd lift your hands surpris'd, & swear
That Mother Trisket's* self were there.

'Yet starch'd up folks that live in town,
That lounge upon your beds till noon,
That never tire yourselves with work,
Unless with handling knife & fork,
Come, see the sweets of country life,
Display'd in Parson B——'s wife.' "

* "A noted Quean, formerly y^e jail keeper's wife in Boston." — Eds.

tion & the thought of leaving Dover is matured beyond my expectation, so that you think of 3 or 4 weeks deciding the matter, the travels of your friend, with all the sentimental observations, anecdotes, &c., must be set aside till a future & more convenient opportunity.

I communicated the plan of the Academy to a number of gentlemen, & all of them expressed their approbation & pleasure, tho', I am obliged to say, like men of y^e world, they made it an object of their wishes rather than manifested activity in pushing it forward. I judged it to be your desire to have your name concealed, & only mentioned it to M^r Adams, Bp Barrett, & M^r Lowell, who were a committee with others to consider what plan of education would be most beneficial to the town. I thought it lucky to have received your proposals before these gentlemen carried their report to the town. It seems, however, that they have not yet come together, owing to one or other being absent at the time appointed, as *they say*, or, as I may observe, to a *vis inertie* w^{ch} pervades the whole body. Within these few days M^r A. told me that he expected soon to collect the minds of this committee, & begged of me to defer the matter for their opinion, as they were persons of great influence among the people, and might be of advantage to you, whether you built upon the public or a more private basis.

I could wish, therefore, (tho' I am loth to differ from you who always act from the most prudential considerations, & must have many circumstances before you of which it is impossible that I should be able to judge of equally with yourself,) that you had waited the moving of the waters, & not openly decided with your people till the fall. Dick Campney told here that you was about leaving your parish, which I rather denied to Thayer, & spoke of otherways as a mistake. I wanted to have it thought in this town that the plan of having an Academy

for the Belles Lettres originated with us, & that it was of so much importance to have a person compleatly qualified at the head, that we shd. be under obligations to you for coming to Boston. But whether *now* it will not be thought a scheme in you meerly to get into business, & therefore be less advantageous, I cannot but say I am a little afraid. Such a fear ariseth from the warmth of my friendship, & a most earnest wish for your ease & comfortable subsistence, and I beg of you to excuse me in writing thus freely.

If you have finished the matter, & mean *directly* to change your mode of life, there is no kind of service but what I will render to you, esteeming it a pleasure to execute, as far as I am able, your most particular desires. You have many friends who with equal sincerity wish your welfare & happyness.

Your brother Sam will write, as I suppose, from whom you will receive superior advice, & whose opinion in most cases, experience of the advantage has taught me to prefer before the rest of my acquaintance.

I am much pleased with the MS. you put into my hands. It is very different from the disquisition of the learned D^r M., which he has forwarded to the Academy of Lyons, styled “An *Detectio* Regionum Americanorum sit *noxia* humano Generi?” I will return it according to your desire, with my sentiments more particularly delivered.

We are all well & send our regards. Tell Ruthy to let her “moderation be known to all women.” Write soon, & acquaint me with the minutiae of your present situation.

I am your affectionate friend and humble servant,

JOHN ELIOT.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Reverend Mr Belknap, Dover.

BOSTON, August 14, [1782].

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — I have not lately received from you any thing particular, yet will venture to write by the post, and make a few inquiries after your welfare, as well as express my best wishes on your behalf.

Your situation remains very critical, as I learn from Sam. The plan for a Council to convene at Dover appears to me wise & judicious; for upon supposition they advise your dismissal, this will raise your reputation in y^e world, among people especially who must ask a reason for every thing w^{ch} is done, but who would rest entirely satisfied by your regarding the council of others. And methinks they cannot but consent to your dismissal upon the representation you make of the matter, as the consequences must be so detrimental to you if you still retain a connection with your people. May you have all that wisdom which is profitable to direct you upon the occasion, & hoping for the best, may you preserve a calmness & fortitude of mind, and not find yourself cast down by any of the cares which compass you about.

I spake my mind very freely concerning your affairs to Col. Waters, whom I saw upon the ferry-ways, & by whom I should have written had I been acquainted with the opportunity. I suppose that he mentioned seeing me. I shall earnestly wait to hear from you whether anything decisive hath taken place.

My own health & circumstances are *in statu quo*. I am unmarried & *likely to be so*. (La you. I never thought of a *ryme*, but Saul will run among the prophets *sometimes*. There liked to be *another*, only y^e plural number made a *bother*. Well, I shall be so capital in this way as not to go to my *wife* for a description of my *life*. I had the

pleasure of seeing something of this *kind* very much to my *mind* by a *country parson's lady*.^{*} It was shewn to me at Philadelphia, but the couple live eastward of that city.)

Next to myself comes the state of the town of Boston. Here are Frenchmen plenty. A large fleet refitting hath given a spring to the town, which before was like a pool long stagnant. Monsieurs had a most terrible basting in the W. Indies. More than we think for. However, it was all accidental, they say, & they should beat y^e British upon another tryal.

Nothing less than peace is now talked off. Indeed, the British seem desirous of it, & surely we ought to be no less weary of war. Still I think there is an obstacle in the way, & we shall talk more of it before we feel its happy effects. We shall know from the papers of tomorrow.

I drank tea with M^r Goreham† this afternoon. He has just come home from a journey to y^e county of Hampshire w^{ch} he made with M^r Adams & others by order of court. We have a riotous gentry there, & it is hoped that these gentlemen have taken those wise & prudent steps necessary to calm if not to quell them. M^r G. thinks they [have] done good by going, having convinced the people [how] much they have been deceived by false reports, &c., [and] drawn from them a confession of their folly & a desire [to] be reinstated in the good opinion of their countrymen[en].

One other thing of a different nature I must mention before I leave you. D^r Chauncy's MS. is in the press. Not the critical remarks, only just a part, which is a meer castrated edition of the whole work. It will be any-

^{*} See note, *ante*, p. 228. — Eds.

† Nathaniel Gorham, born in Charlestown, May 27, 1738, died June 11, 1796. He took a leading part in public affairs, and held numerous important offices. He was especially conspicuous as a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, and was active in securing its ratification by the Convention of Massachusetts, of which he was also a member. — Eds.

tering in the proper point. I was much desirous of spending the month of September, or a part of it, in a ride to Dover, but have been prevented by the company of my brother in Boston, & who will not leave town till the next week. Sam wants me then to go with him to Haverhill, & I dont know but I shall make it convenient. Could I provide myself with a horse & supply my pulpit for the next Sabbath, nothing would hinder me from proceeding further eastward. But my brother Siah will go to Newport with the nag I was to ride, & I know not of any body who will make an exchange. M^r Buckminster hath been in town, & it would have been just the thing for me to have gone to Portsmouth, & what he wished as well as myself.

I have my fears now whether I shall see you this fall, it grows so late in the season. Allowing this to be the case, you will have so much more of my company in the spring. For once a year I will, out of regard to my health & comfort, be absent a few weeks; and there will be no Southern tour to divert my mind for the future.

You desired me to give some account of my Southern journey, which I am ready to do, only I know not where to begin. The most entertaining things in it were the view of the army, the town of Bethlehem, the city of Philadelphia, and I imagine that I gave you some description of them when you was in town. If I remember right, I delivered to you likewise my opinion of some principal characters. It would be tedious to repeat, & therefore I am at a loss what to say. I will, however, for Ruthy's edification, give a short account of the Moravian girls at Bethlehem.

You have doubtless heard of the Moravians, the followers of Count Zinzendorff, who in somewhat large bodies came over to Pensylvania about 50 years ago, & settled in a fertile & beautiful spot upon the River Lehæ, not 20 miles from the Delawar. It is a compact settlement, &

the houses all stone. One of the houses is called the House of the Single Women. It is about 100 feet long, & above 60 are accommodated, as I judge fm. the number of beds, to which apartment, the upper loft of the whole house, I was introduced by the matron of the house, — a woman similar to a Lady Abbess in nunneries. The whole house is a picture of industry & diligence. In one room they are weaving, in another knitting, another carding, spinning in a fourth, &c. So likewise are all branches of the needlework, &c. carried on, drawing, &c. Opposite to this house is another of equal bigness, where the single men reside. Nor is there any communication between the sexes. I think I mentioned how they conduct the matrimonial process. If not, it shall be the subject of my next letter. The girls are disagreeable & ugly, of a wan complexion, and do not appear as if they really enjoyed life. They are kept too much confined, & not allowed even in their prison, as it may well be called, any recreation or amusement, without it is a walk in the garden adjoining to the house. There are very fine gardens over the town, and the finest prospects from the top of these buildings, from whence we took a view of the country. One of the principal men of the place told me that he could never forgive the people of Boston (by whom they mean all N. England) for their cruelty exercised upon the daughter of Count Zinzendorff, whom they stripped, whipped at the cart's tail, &c. Have you met with any account of this? So much for the journey, & enough for the present.

I have now to mention some matters nearer home. We are here all in a flame about the controversy concerning the duration of future punishment. Dr Chauncy & Clarke have let the cat out of y^e bag. They begun by printing a sermon, or rather essay, containing the opinions of others upon this subject, which by no means served their cause, for it is not well done. Clarke then opened the subject in the pulpit, & in conversation with

his people, and it hath given universal disgust. Your brother Sam is raving, and condemns Clarke, bell, book, & candle. (His prejudices are strong, nor do I think he is disposed to do justice to that gentleman, whose merit is great, and who, tho' imprudent in this affair, is not dishonest.)

Instead of pleasing the rational part of the town & country, such I mean as are even friendly to this subject as a matter of speculation, it is thought by them that it will admit of very bad consequences, and that this time was the improper to start such a controversy. None but the Murrayites among my acquaintance are satisfied, & they not by being converted over to these notions of future happiness contained in D^r C. MS., but only as they y^{nk} that they have made a prize of the ministers. They are bold to say that they will be Murrayites soon, that they have given up the main point & are coming over as fast as they can. It will be a rich harvest for the Baptists likewise. In short, I am mad about their whole conduct, & think that they have gotten us into a direful hobble. And if I could run away from Boston, I would be content not to see the place for 7 years, & heartily repent my setting down here in the ministry. We must now be continually exposed to the fury of storms & hurricanes.

What think you about political matters? Here also they are for war. I am not certain but you will see the British standard upon Great Island or Kittery Point. It is necessary to talk French, or you would be a stranger in the streets of Boston. I wish we were rid of them.

You asked me for one of my sermons. I have not one, even for myself. My brother must go home without them. I had only six, w^{ch} I gave away under the promise of more, but few were printed.

I have a dark blue coat w^{ch} was too small for me, & which I never wore much, nor has it been turned. If I

could send it to Portsmouth, it might do for one of your boys, & will keep it till I hear from you.

My brother & all friends send their respects.

I am yrs., &c.,

J. ELIOT.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Reverend Mr Belknap, Dover, N. Hampshire.

BOSTON, Decem^r 7th, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — Since I saw you last we have been here in an unhappy state with regard to the peculiar sentiments of the day; I fear what will be the end of the matter. I find no proselites to the opinions contained in the pamphlet lately published with so much celebrity. Not a single Murrayite hath been brought over to the faith. Men of no religion laugh at the broils of the clergy. The orthodox are highly offended. Have you seen the dispute between Dr Mather* and Clarke? The Dr's pamphlet partook of the *rabies* of the family. It is weak, quaint, pettish, with the pomposity of his father when he used to slay the Philistines. Never was a finer opportunity for Mr Clarke to shew himself to advantage than was here afforded to him. He soon made it known among his friends, and it was whispered at large, that he was about to answer the Doctor. From Mr Clark's reputation much was expected. Had he entered into the argument, and treated the subject delicately, he would have obliged his friends, served his cause, and gained a

* Rev. Samuel Mather, D. D., son of Cotton Mather, born in Boston, Oct. 30, 1706, graduated at Harvard College in 1723, ordained over the Second Church as colleague with Rev. Joshua Gee in 1732, and dismissed in 1741, when he became minister of a new society, to which he preached until his death, June 27, 1785. Most of the seceders then returned to the Second Church, and the new society became extinct. In 1782 he published a pamphlet entitled "All Men will not be saved forever, or an Attempt to prove that this is a Scriptural Doctrine," and intended as an "Answer to an insidious Pamphlet entitled 'Salvation for all Men.'" (See Robbins's History of the Second Church, pp. 119-123.) — Eds.

reputation. Instead of this, he threw a weapon into the hands of his opponents, with which they cease not to maul him. We had held Mr C. up to the world as a person of a most amiable temper, of wit and good sense. They ask if this is a sample of them. They who were doubting about the truth of the opinion are put two steps back, rather than one forward, for they had looked for compleat satisfaction, instead of a parade of satire.

Observe the consequence which it hath upon our societies. Mr C. preached for me on the morning of the Thanksgiving. All the deacons left the meeting, & above 30 others, who declare that they will never hear him. Some principal characters have told me that I must not change with him. Upon which I answer[ed] that I *should* do it. It was none of y^r business w^t Mr C. thought, if he did not croud his sentiments down their throats. I am fully determined not to give up this point, or make a breach in the churches; and I expect so much influence as to withstand & overset the conduct of these bigots & people righteous overmuch. A person nearly related to you & me, whose prejudices against that gentleman are as acrimonious as they are without foundation, hath injured him as much as any body in my parish as well as in the church he usually attends. I believe it is the sincere wish of his heart, indeed he hath expressed it, that C. might not be allowed to preach anywhere. This hath produced some disputes between us, in which he thinks me uncandid towards him in supposing him destitute of candour, & much too bitter against his bitterness. So much for theological affairs.

Now for politics. What think you of the news of the day? If you was here, you would be compleatly Frenchified. Nor can we tell when they will leave us. A mutiny is likely to prevail throughout our army. It is said that all the officers of the Massachusetts Line have fixed upon the first January to throw up their commis-

sions. I had this from more than one young officer who hath signed the agreement. Older officers are silent when they are questioned upon the matter. I don't much fear the thing. So many of our officers were made *gentlemen* upon going into the army, & are sensible their military livery is the only thing w^{ch} gives them a right to such a character, that it seems probable that they had rather consider twice than submit to a metamorphosis. What they require is half-pay thro' life, w^{ch} our General Court are not disposed to grant. It is a shame, tho', that they should be treated as they are now. A person lately come from camp told me that [*torn*] not obtain a glass of wine or grogg in the army; and [*torn*] *some* of whom had estates elsewhere had nothing better than water to drink for weeks. It is a sweet morsel, however, that they are fighting for *Liberty*.

Our family present their regards. Remember me to all friends at Dover, and write soon. Had I time I would transcribe a letter of Major Shaw's, just received; but it must be deferred, tho' it contains something curious.

I am yrs., &c.,

JOHN ELIOT.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d M^r Belknap, Dover.

Boston, February 4, 1783.

DEAR SIR, — For above a month I have had a letter by me without being able to procure an opportunity to send it, which has quite discouraged me from writing letters beforehand. I hope, however, things will turn, and as the spring opens the passing will be more free. Did you ever know such cold weather? Monday morning Farenheit's therm. was 2 deg. lower than ever known. I could wish myself *ductus in matrimonio* most

of these cold nights. It is better to marry surely than to *freeze*. So much for that.

Now for the pudding. Brother Clarke doth not succeed better than [he] did at first. Have you seen Eckley's performance? It is wri[tten in] good temper, but in the rant of Hopkintonism. Let me kn[ow what] pamphlets you wish to see upon the controversy, w^{ch} have been pub[lished] in Boston. My situation is peculiarly delicate. The earnest elocution, rising even to a foam of —, is of no advantage to me.

What think you of a peace? Can there be so much smoke without some fire? Most people believe it will take place. To be sure, the seat of war will be moved. And if they do fight in the West Indies, it will be in earnest, so that the ocean will be somewhat colored. May a negotiation prevent all this!

We have two professorships established at Cambridge; one, Surgery & Anatomy, D^r Warren; another, the Theory & Practice of Physic, D^r Waterhouse. There will be another soon elected for Materia Medica & Chemistry. You must call it Cambridge University.

Adieu for the present.

Yrs.,

JOHN ELIOT.

PETER THACHER TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

To the Rev. M^r Jeremy Belknap, Dover.

MALDEN, Feb. 24, 1783.

DEAR SIR, — Captⁿ Green, the bearer of this, you know to be one of the dearest of my friends. This would, I flatter myself, entitle him to your attention and regard, had you no other acquaintance with him. He will inform you of much talk about Cambridge; it is a matter of importance; but I fear breaking my neck rushing up stairs. He will tell you what proposals I

have made to my people. I wish you could write me a line or two with your opinion upon the subject. If I am wrong, I pray you to correct me with the tenderness & fidelity of a friend. I congratulate you on the prospect of peace. We are well; I hope you are so, & am, with my kindest regards to M^{rs} Belknap,

In very g^d haste, y^r affectionate friend & bro.,

PETER THACHER.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO PETER THACHER.

[February or March, 1783.]

MY DEAR SIR, — You cannot ask anything of me but what I think myself under obligation to perform to y^e extent of my ability, & I hope my willingness is equal to my sense of the obligation. But the advice you desire of me now demands a more thorough knowledge of circumstances, some of them peculiarly delicate, than it is possible for me to have without being on the spot, & being personally conversant both at Malden & Cambridge. From some of M^r G's conversation I gather that your mind is in somewhat of a similar situation to mine this time twelve months. I was convinced of the necessity & propriety of making a stir; I knew it could not be done without risque; I tho't my circumstances were such as to justify a risque, & I imagined the probability was on y^e side of my leaving this place. (But I had no prospect of any other; in this latter part my case & yours differ.) I did not wish the people any ill; I tho't they might easily get one that would suit y^m as well or better. I was loth to say anything to their disadvantage, or that would hurt their character. I therefore had, I may say, the generosity to wish that my departure might be made without any accusation on my part against them, & I knew there could be none on their part against me. But I found the way entirely shut up from making any such

movement. If I went away, there must be a *reason* given for it, or I could not be justified in y^e eyes of y^e discern^g & judicious whose good opinion I would wish to preserve, & if a reason was given, it must operate to y^e disadvantage of my people. But prudence & even justice required that they should have opportunity to remove the cause. They had, & it was removed.

So far I have considered your circumstances as similar to mine. In one respect there is a dissimilitude. You have an invitation, I understand, from some respectable persons. 200 guineas in fob is a pretty *douceur*. The advantage of educating your children is an object worthy any man's attention. An elevated station of usefulness will require proportionable attention to study, & yet, your avocations being multiplied & your social disposition concurring, it cannot be expected that your hours of study will be more than now, if so many. It ought also to be considered whether you could submit to & persist in such an unvaried mediocrity of principles, temper, & conduct as from above 60 years experience has been found y^e surest preservative of reputation & usefulness in that "city set on a hill." Such an affair was agitated many years ago in y^e removal of Mr Fitch from Ipswich to Portsm^o, of w^h his grandson, A. W., can inform you, who has a MS. of Mr F's in his hands w^h I once saw, cont^g some tho'ts on translations.* These are some of the advantages & disadvantages that obviously present themselves, & w^h require to be well balanced in your mind before you allow it to depart from its equipoise; but supposing it to preponderate toward a removal, two things are essential in my view before the way can be cleared. The first is a regular, united call from Cambridge; the other is the advice of an Ecclesiastical Council in favour of your acceptance; & without a concurrence of both

* See letter of Rev. Jabez Fitch, *ante*, p. 3. — Eds.

these, I think you cannot proceed a step but at y^e risque of your character.

As to the former, I should not scruple to give it as my opinion, that, considering the peculiar circumstances of Cambridge, they had a right to give a call to any settled minister in the country; but I would not have them exercise this right without advice, & without the concurrence of the govern^t of the College. Should it be the advice of those whom they tho't proper to consult that the choice sh^d fall upon you, & should the College concur, I think this would have weight with any Council whom you might consult on the question; but your people must have an hearing before it can be determined, & if it should appear that they have complied with their engagements to you, & were united in their affections toward you, & loth that you should leave them, I must confess that I should be at a loss (were I a member of that Council) what advice to give, unless some circumstances which I do not foresee should arise.

This, my dear Sir, is all that I can think of at present. Mr G. will tarry a day or two, & I will revolve the matter in my mind, & if any farther tho'ts should whirl up I will pen them.

PETER THACHER TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

MALDEN, March 10, 1783.

MY D^R SIR, — I embrace this first leisure moment to thank you for your kind letter. It was really refreshing, and I thought it one of the most judicious which you or anybody else ever wrote, because it exactly agreed with my own sentiments on the subject.

The invitation to Cambridge was very unexpected to me; it came from the government of the College, who were at pains to collect the sentiments of the people upon

the subject; my friends urged the matter much, & the President with the Professors made use of arguments which it would not be modest for me to repeat or just for me to feel the force of. Everything was engaged to be done which should be necessary to preserve my character fair in the view of the world, such as Councils, &c., and very large offers made me as to support & encouragement. I was told at the same time that nothing but my removal would prevent the opening of the Church of England there, or the separation of the College from the congregation.

You may think that y^{se} offers flattered my pride; phps yy did, but yy did not hide me from myself. I know my own abilities better y^{an} any body else. I knew y^t I could not fill so elevated a situation in a manner pleasing to myself. I knew y^t I must be kept in a state of constant exertion, and you know y^t I am not the only one of my family who prefers their ease to their ambition. I had examples before me of persons who had made a very good figure in a middling station, but who became contemptible by being raised to an higher, and I feared the consequence. I knew that my mode of delivery was the principal inducement to those who invited me, and I had my doubts whether I could so well attend to the interests of religion in my own heart at Cambridge as I could at Malden. These considerations made a deep impression upon my mind, which was kept in a state of constant agitation, when my people heard of the matter and took the alarm. Instantly a violent fermentation began. Grief, anger, & every other passion, seemed to be exercised among them. I saw I could not get away without a violent convulsion. I did not feel myself disposed to hazard such an one. I dreaded laceration upon the occasion, and therefore, in consequence of their application to me, I intimated to my people that, provided they would deal justly & generously by me in time to come, I

would give up the thoughts of removing. Some of them offered to bind their estates to see me punctually paid in time to come, and I shall require of the parish the immediate payment of my arrears, and to make up my salary to one hundred pounds whenever peace shall take place. These, with some other domestic matters which are of trifling consequence (about repairs on the parsonage, &c.), I have no doubt the people will readily grant, as they have discovered a very strong inclination & desire for me to stay, and they know that the matter now turns upon this very axis.

I spent Friday last at Cambridge by appointment. All the governors of the College were with me. We talked over the subject with great good nature. They appeared loth to say so, (you will p^hps suspect me of vanity, but it is true,) and yet I believe they think that it will not do for me to leave my people under such circumstances. I told them of the meeting of this week, & assured y^m y^t if my people discovered any ill humour towards me, or any backwardness to do what was just & generous, it would turn y^e scale in my mind, & I should come to them with an easy ñd. Friday next, I suppose, will carry my ultimatum.

D^r Appleton hath conducted in y^e mattr as he hath done in every othr. He nevr let me, nor anybody else, know whether it was agreable or disagreeable to him. He is ninety ÿrs old!

You may think y^t a numbr of circumstances I have mentioned were flattering to me. If it was so, I know that I felt much more pain than pleasure by the means. I have suppressed no part of the whole matter, & if I have been to blame I wish you would be so good as to point it out to me in y^r next. Malden was more agreable to my inclinations by far than Cambge. Here I am my own master; y^{re} I must be everybody's serv^t and feel myself surrounded with broken ministers!!! *Verbum sapienti.*

It would be y^e joy of my heart to accept y^r k'd invitation, but I dread y^e othr part of y^e voyage, — bugs, dirt, nastiness! *Hinc illæ lachrymæ!*

M^{rs} Thacher joins me in presenting her kindest love to M^{rs} Belknap, & her regards to y^r father & mother & Miss Nabby. We are all well. Pray let me hear from you soon. I will endeavour to communicate y^e result to you as soon as I have it myself. Good, I trust, will come out of it upon the whole.

I am, as I always was, y^r obliged & affectionate fd. & ser^t,
PETER THACHER.

P. S. Ought I to rejoice in the addition made to my sister's family? Natty is at camp. I had no thought of removing when the proposal was first made me; yy all along had the idea of a translation. I dreaded lest it should be in a *fiery* chariot!

Rev. Jeremy Belknap.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Reverend M^r Belknap, Dover.

BOSTON, March 13, 1783.

DEAR SIR, — I received your letter by M^r Hale, tho' not soon enough to mention it in my last. I have that & the other handed this week now before me. Was extremely disappointed at not seeing Jo. Haven, whose company would have [been] very agreeable, as well as the opportunity it had given me of writing.

I have advised Brother Clarke, as you suggested. Prejudices run very high, tho' I think there is hardly such a hubbub about his opinions as the novelty of them at first excited. Those poetical squibs which we mutually agree in thinking absurd, if they don't take their rise, are much encouraged by you know *who*. He is not the author, but

may be considered as the *match* which makes them *pop* off. Yet you know this man reads the 1st & 58th hymn in the book you alluded to. As to the matter of changing, I still continue to do it, but affront, grieve, vex some. That little fag-end of all things contemptible, D^r S-mp-k-ns, swells & flouts without being able to gain the least influence. He tried to break up the connection between M^r L. & myself in the lecture we hold together. I gave out word that they might get ministers then to supply of their own, but I would neither preach nor attend upon them. People were more displeased with his silly officiousness than with my resolution.

You ask me what is the matter at Malden. There has been an hint given to Brother Thatcher to leave that place, & go to Cambridge. He may have a unanimous invitation, I suppose. No other man is so popular there, & I find that the President & other gentlemen of y^e College have encouraged the thing. They think that he would be a good model of pulpit oratory to set before the youth. M^r T., however, will not leave Malden, for fear of displeasing the people. I think he may be less scrupulous, with a very good conscience.

At Charlestown they have made choice of M^r Dwight,* member of the General Court from Northampton, for their pastor, — a gentleman much distinguished in the place he now holds as a fluent, oratorical speaker, a man of a liberal mind, and an enthusiastic friend to science. He has carried thro' the House an act in favor of literary property, which arose from what you mentioned, viz^t a debate upon the subject in the Connecticut paper. It seems M^r Trumbull had agreed with a printer in Hartford to print off 2 or 300 copies of his M^cFingal. He was to have 3s

* Rev. Timothy Dwight, D. D., born in Northampton, May 14, 1752, graduated at Yale College in 1769, served in the Massachusetts Legislature for two years, was ordained minister of the church in Greenfield, Conn., in 1783, made President of Yale College in 1795, and died in New Haven, Jan. 11, 1817. (See Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. ii. pp. 152-165.) — EDS.

a book from the subscribers. As soon as the book came out, however, another printer struck off an impression upon poor paper, with a type proportionably mean, & sold it for less money. On which the friends of the author of M^cF. made a stir about literary property. M^r D. was one of these, and came to the General Court boiling over with a desire to make the thing go down in our State. I heard there was a demur in the Senate, but wish that the act may pass. It would be worth your consideration in N. Hampshire, & it will be necessary to have it pass down in other States; otherwise it can be of no great benefit here. Was I in your place, I never would let my History go out of my hands without a suitable reward from the printer. You may obtain what you please some time hence. To recur to M^r Dwight, I have given you his political character. As a divine, he is a compleat bigot on the plan of his grandfather, M^r Edwards. He has studied little else in divinity but that scheme. He thunders out his anathemas against all them *who stir the pudding*. He hath said (I know he hath the vanity to think so) that he supposed himself raised up in Providence to overset this system of errors.

Thus do we behold a liberal politician turned into a mean-spirited divine.

Tom Abbot is dismissed from his people at Roxbury. [*born*] perfect brute is *he*, wallowing in the mire of intemperance.*

As to peace, we tremble. What could induce M^r Ada[ms to] resign his commission, except the treaty were dishonorable? †

* Rev. Thomas Abbot, born in Charlestown, May 31, 1745, graduated at Harvard College in 1764, was ordained over the Second Church in Roxbury, Sept. 29, 1773, dismissed March 10, 1783, and died in Brookline, Nov. 1, 1789. — Eds.

† Immediately after the signing of the preliminaries of peace, Jan. 21, 1783, Mr. Adams, feeling that the chief object of his mission had been accomplished, asked leave to return home. But Congress was unwilling to accede to his request, and he remained abroad to negotiate a commercial treaty with Great Britain. (See Adams's Works of John Adams, vol. i. p. 400.) — Eds.

The army are not sensible what power they have in their hands. They may do great things, but a fondness for domestic scenes of happiness prevalent in the bosoms of so many will stop the cry, in a great measure, even of their demands for justice.

Polly will be married in a week or two. I hope to see Dover in May. And am with due respects in the meanwhile,

Your affectionate friend & humble servant,

JOHN ELIOT.

P. S. *Mathetees Archaios* is too despicable to have anything said about it.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO THOMAS LONGMAN.*

SIR,—I wrote to you last November & February, inform^s you y^t I had an History of N. H. ready for the press, & proposing either to sell you y^e copy or print an edⁿ here, & send it to you sheet by sheet as it comes from the press, y^t you m^t have an edⁿ ready for publication in Engl^d as soon as y^e American edⁿ sh^d be prepared, & desiring to know what advantage I might expect in case you acceded to either of these proposals. Having heard noth^s in answer, & peace in y^e mean time having taken place, I have this spring consented to y^e issuing proposals for an edⁿ to be printed in Phil^a, & y^e subscription will be closed by y^e 1st of August. Notwithstand^s this, it will be in my power to delay y^e publication here to what time I please, & if you think proper to accept y^e proposal of reciev^s y^e copy sheet by sheet from y^e press, so as to have an edⁿ ready in Engl^d as soon as here, you will please to

* This letter is printed from a rough draft preserved by Mr. Belknap. Mr. Longman was the founder of the great publishing firm of Longman & Co., and was already a leading bookseller and publisher in London. — Eds.

enter into an agreem^t wth M^r Sam^l Eliot, who will be with you & who is impowered to act in my behalf.

June 17, 1783.

M^r Longman.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO JOHN WENTWORTH.

SIR, — I had the honor of writing to you last Nov^r & Feb^y concerning the printing of y^e History w^h was begun under your kind encouragem^t, since w^h that most desirable event, peace, having taken place, I have consented to y^e publicā of an American edⁿ, & have empowered my friend M^r S. E. to contract for y^e right of publish^g one in Lond^o. It would be a great addition to y^e value of y^e work if it could be embellished with a map of N. H., & as I suppose a complete one is in your hands, I would ask y^e favor of you to permit it to be reduced to a small scale, so as to be comprized in a sheet & prefixed to y^e vol. If this request should be agreeable to you, be so kind as to send a line of inform^a to M^r E., at y^e house of Wright & Gill in Ab-Church Lane, & y^e favor will be gratefully rec^d by y^r most obliged & obed^t serv^t,

J. B.

June 17, 1783.

Gov. Wentworth.

JOSEPH RUSSELL TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

Boston, 23 June, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR, — Having, agreeable to your request, made every inquiry respecting the manuscripts of Gov^r Belcher, I am to inform you there are none left in y^e possession of Cap^t Lyde. By accident I met with two more volumes of his letters, which I have put on board of y^e

* See note, *post*, p. 290. — Eds.

Portsmouth packet, and ordered into the hands of M^r Daniel Pierce to be forwarded to you immediately. You will please to keep them as long as you find it necessary to take any extracts from them, and you will please to return them, as I obtained them on those conditions. If they should be of use to you I shall think myself happy in sending them. My best wishes attend you, and believe me to be, d^r Sir,

Your friend & hum. serv^t,

JOS. RUSSELL.

Rev^d M^r Jer. Belknap.

COMMITTEE OF THE TOWN OF WAKEFIELD, N. H., TO
JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, at Dover.

REV^d SIR, — Whereas M^r Moses Sweat has been calld to settle in the ministry at Wakefield, & has given them an answer in the negative, supposed on account of some objection to certain doctrines he has delivered. It was moved in Town Meeting by M^r Sweat's adhearants to have the judgment of a number of ministers on those doctrines, & it was agreed to on the part of M^r Sweat & by his opponents. M^r Sweat chose the Rev^d Messu^{rs} Trask, Thair of Kingstown, & Mansfield; the other part of the Council, Rev^d Mess^{rs} Macclentock, Stearns, & Belknap. These are therefore to desire your presence in Council for the purpose aforesaid, at Wakefield, on the 9th day of July next, at the house of Cap^t David Copp.

SIMEON DEARBORN, }
AVERY HALL. } *Committee.*

WAKEFIELD, June 25, 1783.

Rev^d J. Belknap.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO THE TOWN OF WAKEFIELD.*

*To Simeon Dearborn, Esq., & Mr Avery Hall, to be communicated to y^e
Town of Wakefield.*

DOVER, June 30, 1783.

GENTⁿ, — Yours of y^e 25th inst. came to my hands this morn^g, requesting me to be one of a Council of Ministers who are to give “judgment upon certain doctrines,” delivered by a gentleman who is said in your letter to have answered in y^e negative a call you had given him to settle with you in the ministry. [You must allow me to say in answer, gⁿ, that this proposal appears very strange & extraordinary.] That a gentleman should find himself under the necessity of negativing a call because his doctrines were disagreeable to a number of the people, & his settlem^t would probably cause a division am^g y^m, is no new thing, but may be considered as an act of prudence for which he deserves commendation and respect. Such an answer might very justly be supposed to proceed from a benevolent desire to seek the peace of the Society, & if the same principle were prevalent am^g them, it w^d lead them to look for some other gentleman whose doctrines should be more agreeable & not likely to cause divisions among them. At least this is my apprehension of the matter [& I believe it has been the general practice among y^e churches & parishes where I have been acquainted].

* This letter is printed from a rough draft, which has numerous erasures and interlineations; and in copying it to send to the committee Mr. Belknap apparently made important changes in the order in which the several topics were treated. These changes are sufficiently indicated by catch-words and other devices; and the new arrangement has accordingly been followed in printing this draft. A few unfinished sentences, which are not wholly erased, but merely enclosed in brackets, have been omitted, as they probably were not in the letter afterward sent. Their substance is in other parts of the letter. The words within brackets which we have retained form complete clauses or sentences in themselves; and we have no means of determining whether it was intended to omit them. — EDS.

But that after such a negative answer has been given a proposal should be made to call a Council to “judge of the doctrines” which have been ill received by one part of y^e people, & acquiesced in by another part, appears to me a measure y^e tendency of which ought to be very seriously weighed before any step is taken to carry it into execution. Had you desired the opinion & advice of an Ecclesiastical Council with regard to y^e expediency of calling a candidate to settle with you, naming y^e person & describing his qualifications, & stating other circumstances, or desiring the Council to enquire into them with a view to give their advice whether it were prudent for you to call him or for him to accept the call, — this I apprehend would have been a proper subject of discussion for a Council, which in y^e nature of it is only *advisory*. But to call a Council to *sit in judgment on certain doctrines* is a matter of quite another kind, & to judge of them after the candidate who has delivered them has given an answer in the negative might seem rather impertinent. If the gentleman had good reasons to give a negative answer to y^e call, why does he not abide by it? if he had not, why does he not withdraw it? When a negative answer is given & not withdrawn, it is natural to suppose the treaty is at an end; therefore there can be no propriety in discussing points on w^h y^e determin^a is grounded. If the gentleman knows y^t his doctrines are disagreeable to a part of y^e people, & would be likely to create divisions am^g y^m, he did well to give a negative answer, & if this reason still subsists he is right to abide by his said answer, & if he does abide by it I know no business that a Council has in y^e affair. But suppose a Council should convene agreeable to your letters, what are they to do? Their commission, as circumscribed by the letters, is to “judge of certain doctrines.” But who are they to judge for? if they are consistent Protestants (as I am persuaded all y^e gent^a named in your letters are)

they would say, we can judge only for ourselves; you must judge for y^rselvs, & perhaps part of y^m would be of one mind & part of another, & this might be the case if you were to pick a dozen or 100 Councils from am^s all y^e Chhs. in America. Suppose a majority of them are of one mind, must y^e minority submit their judgment to y^m, & y^e opinion of y^e majority be declared the sense of y^e Council? This might do in matters merely prudential, but not in points of *faith*, where conscience is controulable only by y^e supreme tribunal. Suppose y^e maj'y determine one way, & y^e min'y protest ag^s y^m, as they have an undoubted right, w^h part are you to recieve & submit to? But even supposing y^e Council were unanimous, either for or ag^s y^e doctrines, what then? must you recieve these doctrines, or reject y^m with^o examin^a, y^e convicⁿ of y^r own minds?

No one who has been acquainted with ecclesiastical history can help know^s that the calling of Councils to judge & determine articles of faith has been of y^e most pernicious consequence to the true interest of religion. It was one of the steps by w^h the antichristian power arose in y^e Chh. When Christians left the word of God, &, refusing to exercise their right of judging of y^e sense of Scripture, gave themselves up to the opinions & decisions of Councils, it was impossible to determine what was right, for it was no uncommon thing for Councils to be ag^s Councils, & Fathers ag^s Fathers. This disagreement led them to the idea of an infallible head, invested with decisive power to settle controversies & decree articles of faith, & when this point was gained it was necessary to call in the civil in aid of the spiritual power to establish orthodoxy & banish heresy. But the words Orthodoxy & Heresy have changed their meaning oftener perhaps than any other words in the whole compass of language. The opinion of the prevail^s party, be it what it would, was Orthodoxy, & y^e contrary opinion Heresy, & by these means for a long succession of time truth

was obscured, the Scriptures were neglected, charity was extinguished, ignorance, bigotry, tyranny, & persecution reigned triumphant, & the Man of Sin exalted himself above all y^t was called God.

I need not attempt to lead you thro' all the progressive steps by which this antichristian power has been for above 2 centuries past weakening & declining, & the Reformation established upon its ruins. It may be suffic^t to observe, that it has been found by long experience that the 2 main pillars of the Reformation are, That the Scriptures are y^e only standard of faith & practice, & That every man has a right & is obliged to judge for himself of the sense of Scripture. So long as we act upon these 2 principles, we can maintain our seperation from y^e Chh. of Rome by unanswerable reasons; but every deviation from them is retreating a step towards the bosom of that mother of harlots & abominations.

I know it has been too common a thing am^s Protestants to form & adhere to articles, creeds, & confessions of faith. But in this, as well as many other respects, Protestants have acted inconsistently, & they never can be consistent with themselves unless they disavow every *standard* of doctrine but the Bible, & allow *every man* right & obligⁿ to judge of its sense & meaning for himself; the consequence of w^h is that we cannot judge for one another.

Let me therefore address you in the words of y^e Ap^o, "Brethren, ye have been called to liberty." "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith X hath made you free, & be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage," — the yoke of antichristian bondage, one part of w^h is submission to y^e opinions & decisions of uninspired men in matters of *faith*, & let me also remind you of y^e words of our Ld J., — "Why even of y^r *own selves* judge ye not what is right?"

Gⁿ, I hope my plainness will not give you offence. I am really concerned for you, & am afraid the measure

you have taken is pregnant with evil & not calculated for good. While I continue in my present sentiments I cannot be a member of a Council to sit in judgm^t on points of faith with^o betraying the cause of true Protestant Xy. You will think I have sufficient reason for declin^g y^r invitaⁿ.

I am, &c.

SIMEON DEARBORN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

REV^d & DEAR S^r,—I thank you for your kind & judicious letter. We're very sensible of the impropriety of the measure proposed, but nothing less than a compliance would still the clammer; could wish y^t M^r Sterns & M^r Macclentock could be informed of your sentiments; should have done it myself, but fear'd bad consequences. As to M^r Sweat's principles, think there is as great a jumble of inconsistencies as ever met in one man: 'tis Pelagianism, Hopkintonism, & what not, jumbled together like Nebuchadns^{rs} image, & yet the people strangely taken in by his low majick art. We have been confind in y^e Dagon's temple with Dagon's head cut off, to show the superior excelency of the Supreme Being; have had the Jewish Sabbath inculcated on us; have been severely lash^d for the Jews' disobedience; have been taught y^t universional benevolence to the universional sistem is truly Christian, brotherly love & loving God with all the hart; that our natural abilities are abundantly sufficient to regenerate us without divine aids. I must leave the rest till I see you. In the mean time, am

Your sincere friend & weak brother,

SIMEON DEARBORN.

WAKEFIELD, July 3rd, 1783.

Rev^d M^r J. Belknap.

LETTER TO THE SOCIETY IN WAKEFIELD.*

To the Christian Society in Wakefield.

WHEREAS we have been informed by M^r Sweat that some exceptions have been made ag^s some discourses w^{ch} he deliv^d am^g you, viz. upon Isa. 55. 4 and Malachi 3. 10; & in particular that the great doctrine of the atonement is struck at; and that we among others were appointed by mutual consent to give you our opinion respecting this matter; and as our circumstances are so peculiar at this time that it is not in our power to attend; — we take this method to inform you & whom it may concern that we have attended to y^e discourses excepted against & must say that we find nothing in them which we esteem contrary to truth & sound doctrine. And in particular it is our opinion that the doctrine of the atonement is fully contained in the discourse on Isaiah 55. 4. We must farther say, in justice to M^r Sweat, that we never entertained any suspicion that he did not believe the doctrine of the atonement, notwithstanding we have heard him preach divers times, & had repeated opportunities of conversing with him upon religious subjects.

NATH^l TRASK.

ISAAC MANSFIELD.

ELISHA THAYER.

THOMAS LONGMAN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

M^r Jeremy Belknap, Boston, New England.

LONDON, July —, 1783.

SIR, — Your favour of the 3^d of December last came safe to my hands under cover from my good friend M^r Elliot. It will always be a pleasure to me to render every service in my power to any of his connections.

* This letter is printed from a copy in the handwriting of Mr. Belknap. It is without date, but was probably written in July, 1783. — EDS.

Am much obliged by the offer you have made me of purchasing the copyright of your History of New Hampshire. The following considerations will clearly shew the impropriety of my engaging in it. First, that it would be absolutely necessary for me to have the manuscript in my possession for a reasonable time to take the opinion of some literary friend upon the execution of. Secondly, as you have not mentioned what consideration you should expect for it. Perhaps these objections might be got over, but the most material with me is the apprehension that the history of one particular Province in New England would not be of sufficient importance to engage the attention of this country, & particularly as it is at present brought down no lower than the year 1714. Upon the whole, it appears to me to be most for your advantage to print the book in America, and that when printed a number of copies should be immediately sent over here which may be sold for your benefit. If this method should be adopted, and you should think it right to consign them to me, you may depend on my best services in promoting the sale, &

I am, Sir, your most obd^t humble serv.,

THO^s LONGMAN.

P. S. Govern^r Wentworth has been with me & proposed writing to you.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d M^r Belknap, Dover.

DEAR SIR,— I just write to tell you I cannot write. I have been taken up all the day with one thing or other, & it hath continued till I find that if I begin I shall not finish the letter. And so must bid you good-bye with telling you that we had a pleasant journey home, notwithstanding the warmth of the first day. M^{rs} E. found

her little boy sick of the scarlet fever. He died the next week. Several of the other children were taken down, but thro' Divine blessing are recovered. She wishes to send your little Andrew a set of overhauls, which I shall do by the first opportunity, & write more largely.

Yrs., &c.,

JOHN ELIOT.

Indorsed by Mr. Belknap, "John Eliot, Aug. 15, 1783."

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO JANE MECOM.*

PASSY, Sept. 13, 1783.

DEAR SISTER, — I received your kind letter of April 29, and am happy that the little supplies I sent you have contributed to make your life more comfortable. I shall by this opportunity order some more money into the hands of Cousin Williams, to be dispos'd of in assisting you as you may have occasion.

Your project of taking a house for us to spend the remainder of our days in is a pleasing one; but it is a project of the heart rather than of the head. You forget, as I sometimes do, that we are grown old, and that, before we can have furnish'd our house & put things in order, we shall probably be call'd away from it to a home more lasting, & I hope more agreeable than any this world can afford us.

Tell my Cousin Colas that the parson she recommended to me is gone to Rome, and it is reported has chang'd his Presbyterianism for the Catholic religion. I hope he got something to boot, because that would be a sort of proof that they allow'd our religion to be, so much at least, better than theirs. It would be pleasant if a Boston man should come to be Pope. Stranger things have happened.

* Jane, seventeenth and youngest child of Josiah Franklin, was born March 27, 1712, married Edward Mecom, July 27, 1727, and died in 1795. (See Sparks's edition of the Works of Benjamin Franklin, vol. i. p. 546.) — Eds.

Cousin Williams went back for Boston from London about the beginning of June, so that probably he is with you before this time. He laid out by my desire the money he receiv'd for you in goods which you will receive of him. When you have sold them, perhaps it may be adviseable to put the money at interest, that it may produce you a little income.

My two grandsons are now both with me, and present their duty. I am ever, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

Indorsed by Dr. Belknap, "D^r Franklin's Letter to his Sister about *John Thayer*."

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Mr Belknap, Dover.

BOSTON, Sep. 18, 1783.

DEAR SIR, — You may wonder at my not writing, and perhaps at my being in Portsmouth without reaching Dover; for the last, I will urge in excuse I was engaged in very particular business, tho' not in a multiplicity of affairs. One object alone drew my attention, & I fancy will absorb my time, company, & thoughts as often as I travel eastward, & draw me there oftener than usual. I wish some business would press upon you that you would wish for an exchange one Sabbath between this & winter time. The spring will do, however, next best, & will propose it then, if I cannot obtain it this winter. I know Ruthy looks saucy, and you will shake your fat shoulders when you see me. You are welcome. I will laugh too, agreeably to the old maxim, Let him laugh who wins.

I saw your daughter Sally at M^r Buckminster's. She told me that she was well, & left the family so, & suppose you received my compliments by her. My brother Sam,

as I understand, sent you a bundle by Greenleaf. He, poor fellow, is very ill, — I think, going fast. The jaundice is upon him as bad as ever it was on M^{rs} Eliot, & the doctors think will end in a dropsy of a like nature. I have seen persons as bad with the jaundice who recovered, but there is one circumstance in his case which hath not been in many others where any favorable symptoms have succeeded, which is the length of time the disorder hath had in coming upon him. Two years ago he ought to have used the same method of managing his constitution which he does at present. It must certainly follow that the whole frame is much enervated, the disease preying so long and constantly upon him, and then, you know, if he hath a temporary relief, yet all is but patchwork from the hands of physicians, & he may bid adieu to the glow of health.

I wrote to Hazard, as I told you I would. He hath not given me an answer, being engaged, I supposed, deeply in matrimonial matters. Neither Venus or Hymen are favorable to the Muses, — the grave & sober ones, I mean. The gay & fanciful ones may go hand in hand with them, as I am told, & judge from reading some love songs, epithalamiums, &c. But mark my words. H. will not search historical records, musty parchments, &c., after marriage as he hath done before. You would not do it if you were not above the advice of your wife, in which you shew your good sense, for I heard her scold about it when I resided at your house, & know she would have persuaded you off the notion of writing history, to say no more. But Hazard is an old bachelor; they are always fond, doating husbands, & it is a wonder if his girl don't prove a *speckled hen* that will peck him. I guess Jo Russell & I have the largest & most respectable of all your subscription papers.

All political matters seem to be out of *ton*, even to make any enquiry about them. They will not long re-

main in this state of tranquillity. Army matters must be settled some way or rather. This will cause the political ocean to swell.

And but little is said about theological subjects just now. Dr C's essay on Divine Benevolence will not obtain sufficient subscribers to make it worth to pursue the work, — for the printers, I mean. I found the Murrayites at Portsmouth mistook this for the Pudding, — Sewal among the rest. Let them hug their mistake : perhaps it will encrease the number of people to encourage the work.

Ordinations are much in fashion this way. Next week Bentley * is to be settled at Salem, and a Mr Anning † in Boston, over the Presbytean church in Long Lane ; the week after, Brother Hitchcock at Providence, & your humble servant is of the Council, which will interfere with my plan of journeying this fall. Hilliard hath a call to settle at Cambridge with Dr Appleton. There are hardly any candidates to supply the parishes which are vacant.

How have you determined about sending Josy to Philadelphia ? There is an hospital on one of our islands for innoculating persons, if you chuse he should have the small pox. It is under the care of Warren & others, &c. Waters will be able to tell you the particulars.

With all due aff[ection],

I am [your frien]d & servant,

JOHN ELIOT.

* Rev. William Bentley, D. D., was born in Boston, June 22, 1759, graduated at Harvard College in 1777, and was settled as colleague pastor of the Second or East Church, Salem, in 1783. He died there Dec. 29, 1819. (See Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. i. pp. 320-323.) — Eds.

† Rev. Robert Annan. He was settled over the church in Long Lane, at that time a Presbyterian society, in 1783. In 1786 his connection with it terminated, and the society changed its affiliations from the Presbyterians and adopted the Congregationalist system. Previous to his settlement the society had been weakened by internal divisions. "Infelicities of temper seem to have prevented his restoring the harmony which was needed alike for comfort and for strength. In 1786 he left them, and became the minister of a congregation in the city of Philadelphia; whence he afterwards removed to Baltimore, and subsequently made his home in the interior of Pennsylvania." (See Gannett's Memorial of the Federal Street Meeting-house, p. 18.) Mr. Belknap was his successor as minister of the society in Long Lane. — Eds.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

BOSTON, October 22, 1783.

DEAR SIR, — When I was at Portsmouth the other day, I accidentally stumbled upon Jo. Haven of Rochester, & made him the medium of a message to you, which I suppose he delivered, & from it you concluded that I had not received the letter which I now have before me, & which I had the pleasure of receiving as soon as I reached Boston. In it you mention “having heard of your connection with the organist,” &c., and thro’ the whole express yourself with a kind of jocose approbation. Let me now, in the language of the most familiar friendship, ask you what are the observations of people your way, especially in the town of Portsmouth, concerning my visiting M^r Treadwell’s family. I mean considering me as a parson, & him as a pillar of friend Noah’s society, which, you know, is a *sanctum sanctorum* of itself, and with whom all who bear the title of REV^d are profane & impious. I am led to ask this question because I have never yet heard the language of people, & yet they talk about it. Portsmouth people are somewhat communicative, & I find there needs the utmost caution about speaking; for every word is scattered, & what is one’s business is the business of every body. I have scarce spoke a word about any body or any thing without hearing of it again where I lest expected. Hence I never drop a word about religion. Even my friend Mitchel Sewall & I never discourse upon speculative points in divinity.

Another thing I wish to know is, & perhaps you may hear from various sources of information, — the springs of their chit-chat being never dry, as I before observed, — what opinion the branches of the Treadwell & Rogers family have formed of Nancy’s receiving my addresses

& going to Boston, — particularly Dr Cutter's family.* Something there suggested awakes my curiosity on this point. I hope you won't take it in dudgeon that I have not come to Dover in my late tours to Portsmouth. I find it hard to get time to turn round before I am obliged to set off for home. Preachers are so scarce that love or money will not procure them to supply our pulpits; otherwise I would tarry over Sabbath.

How are theological affairs with you now, as it respects the Pudding controversy? Will Dr Chauncy be able to print, think you? *Subscribing business* is very dull here, and I fear whether he will meet with any encouragement, or sufficient, for the essay on Divine Benevolence. 'Tis probable the Pudding will be boiled in England.

I could not but laugh heartily to hear of the behaviour of the Murrayites last Sunday. I find that they all adjourned to hear Brother Lathrop; their *dux gregis*, honest Noah, marching at the head, who told Mr L. that his heart had not been so much warmed in that meeting-house for 7 years. They spent y^e evening at *Jake's*, a most devotional company. They sung & talked religion to the edification of each other, tho', if I judge rightly from Mr L's account, Noah was not in his element. Sewall rather joined Mr L. in the Chauncean scheme. Can you tell me why the Murrayites set up Lathrop so highly, & rather take pains to pull down Brother Clarke? I wave mine own opinion.

By the way of Philadelphia I have just received a letter from your brother Sam. It was written just after his arrival, & when he was in a great hurry. Be sure, said he, to let Mr Belknap know this. They had a fine passage, only 29 days from Boston to Portsmouth. In that place, he saith, he was "gratified thro' the whole extent of gratification," owing to the company of one or two friends to whom he was introduced.

* Rev. John Eliot was married to Ann, daughter of Jacob Treadwell, of Portsmouth, N. H., Sept. 10, 1784. — EDS.

I suppose you have read some part of Moore's Travels. Is he not a fine fellow? The other volume I will send along by the first opportunity.

How is it with Josey? Have you determined to send him to Philadelphia? The last I heard of it was from a conversation with M^{rs} Martin of Portsmouth, who confirmed what you suggested to me.

When I wrote last I represented the case of my brother Sam to be extremely hazardous. I did not expect he would have been alive at this time. Yet is he much better, & if he is prudent or circumspect about himself, there are no small hopes of a recovery. The rest of the family are well. Capt. Goodwin arrived the day before the last storm, — a most happy escape, for which we ought to be truly thankful. No small damage was done off the Cape, as we hear daily.

A Boston Magazine, — to jump Uncle Tobically, — & who is the director? M^r Billings, the psalm singer. Did you ever see his Address to Dame Jargon, & other pieces at y^e beginning of his book? Well, we have one original genius among us. I send you a subscription paper put into my hands. It is one way of getting rid of it.

Tell Ruthy not to be saucy. My love to her and the children, and am,

With due affection & respect,

Yrs., J. ELLIOT.

JOHN ELLIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d M^r Belknap, Dover. To be left at D^r Penhallow's.

Boston, October 30, [1783].

DEAR SIR, — I have just received your letter, too late for this day's post. I shall send this to-morrow by Greenleaf. It is to inform you that I cannot comply with your

desire. It will not be possible to leave Boston till the first Sabbath in December, & then it must depend upon there being no interference by a day of public Thanksgiving.

Your friend & servant,

JOHN ELIOT.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Mr. Belknap, Dover.

BOSTON, Decem^r 5th, [1783].*

DEAR SIR, — Just at this moment have I received a letter from you w^{ch} was designed to be forwarded to Boston, but was stopped here by some one knowing me to be in town. I am much obliged to you for writing, & fancies you would have been still more luxuriant in some parts of the description of my situation had you known how long I had sat under the sign of Virgo. It is a most sweet, soft, placid air I breath when her ladyship reigns. I dont, however, intend to stop at Aries or Taurus. Gemini will please me better. If you think there is the lest wit in this, do give praise to the right author, Mr Sewall,† to whom I shewed that sentence in your letter, tho' I stopped short before I came to Tubal Cain. Had you the Masonic light about you, you would observe something very curious here. *At profanum vulgus*, &c. I did as you would wish about a certain matter, without *lying* in bed or *lying* any other way, as you advised, — certainly the line of truth might have somewhat crooked, had I done as you said.

* Mr. Eliot no doubt wrote "Boston" by mistake. The letter was evidently written while he was in Portsmouth, on a visit to Miss Treadwell. — Eds.

† Jonathan Mitchell Sewall, who is often referred to in this correspondence, was a descendant of Chief Justice Samuel Sewall. He was born in Salem, Mass., in 1748, and died in Portsmouth, N. H., March 29, 1808. He was a man of brilliant parts, — lawyer, preacher, poet, and orator, — but of unsettled habits in his later years. — Eds.

We talked together about a Magazine. Never was any thing more wretched than this first number of Mr Billings' undertaking. There is now a talk of beginning *de novo* under inspection & patronage of a society of gentlemen, one of whom your humble servant is, as they say, tho' I am much against it, for reasons, &c., & have not yet given my consent. It may be made something off, as such men as Mr Howard, Parker, Clarke, Freeman, are there from the clergy; other gentlemen of equal abilities from the other professions. I will write more of this when I get to Boston. I must now converse a little with my Angel——ina.

Yrs., J. ELIOT.

Love to Ruthy.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

DEAR SIR,—I heard very accidentally that Col. Waters sets out for Dover this morning, and tho' I have not time to answer your kind letter which came to hand this week, yet I will not miss y^e opportunity of telling you that I received it, & that I rejoice in your welfare & happiness. My health & circumstances are *in statu quo*, & your Boston friends are all pretty much the same.

D^r Chauncy says he can tell but little about y^e matters you wished to know from him. He doth not remember sufficiently to be able to make remarks. Nor would he say anything in favor of S^r W^m P——l. He was a man of unbounded avarice, & received from his countrymen more instances of regard & greater rewards than he deserved. But of this & other circumstances I mean to be more particular.

For the present, adieu.

Yrs., JOHN ELIOT.

Indorsed by Mr. Belknap, "1784."

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

*Rev^d. Jeremy Belknap, Dover.*BOSTON, Feb^y 6, 1784.

DEAR SIR, — I will endeavour to answer the particulars of your letter. Whenever you write about my Nancy, you have a subject which ought to give brilliancy to an imagination less lively than your own. No wonder your strokes are so ingenious and pleasing.

D^r Cooper's death is felt by none more than the clergy in this town. We have lost the life of our association & the *gouût* of our literary entertainment. His disorder was lethargic, & from his being first taken he was unable to converse except by momentary intervals of rational discernm^t, w^{ch} he seemed desirous to catch. The only disagreeable circumstance on his mind was a fear of living as the shadow of himself. This was his expression, & often used when he was in health, & what he dreaded from an opinion of his own nervous system. Brother C——'s sermon was much to the purpose, & very acceptable.* I will bring it when I journey eastward, which would have been this week but for my brother's illness.

Poor Sam. He is just gone. The dropsy hath increased for some time, but he seemed for him quite cleverly last week, and insisted upon riding out in a close carriage. A debilitated frame hath rendered him childish & self-willed for some time. And nothing could stop him from going, tho' all protested against it. He would not be helped even into the carriage, & yet was so weak that he fell down, which injured him, perhaps, more than the ride. This was Friday, & the next day he took

* Rev. Samuel Cooper, D. D., minister of the Brattle Street Church, died Dec. 29, 1783, and was buried Jan. 2, 1784. The funeral sermon was preached by Rev. John Clarke, of the First Church. — Eds.

to his bed, & hath been helpless ever since. Danforth & Rand were called in to consult with Appleton. They all agree that tapping would at once bring on a dissolution, which without it must be likewise very near. He is very *flighty*, tho' at times rational. M^r Lathrop visits him, & he seems fond of conversing upon religious subjects, & extremely speculative for a dying man. I could not prevent him from pulling the Athanasian Creed to pieces, the doctrine of predestination, &c. D^r Priestly was his idol, & he seems to have his sentiments impressed so deeply that I imagine what he says are rather traces of what he hath read than any present thoughts, because he is unable to connect for two minutes, & yet will speak rationally on some subject for a quarter of an hour. He saith he always lived, & shall die, in full belief of the Christian religion, & the only thing he desires is to receive the communion with his wife & children. This he got from Priestly. I would join with him & get M^r Parker to administer would he set aside the notion about his children, but this I know he will not do. He saith you are a clever fellow, & he wants to see you. He is so alternately rational and wild, serious & jocose, that you would in spite of your other feelings laugh heartily were you at his bedside. He deals out Yorick's & Smollet's touches with surprising application, as you know is often the case with a person who is insane.

I now mention so[methin]g to you which I am at loss how to bring in, "because it is a case of delicacy." You know Jemmy Sullivan. He pretends, & I believe hath, a high esteem of you. He tells me, with an air of very confidential friendship, he will push for you at D^r Cooper's. He desired me to make an accidental change with you, &c. I submit it *all* to your consideration, and when I see you will converse freely; only, as my duty obliges me, will tell you thus much, that at present there are two strong parties. The Bowdoin

interest have set up John Bradford,* & are determined to push for him. He is determined to preach again. The Hancock party, which I believe are y^e most numerous, are determined to crush him. M^r S. mentioned this to me, however, before any party spirit was kindled, so that you are to consider his proposal as originating from a regard to you entirely; and should you come to any sudden determination, wish you to write a very friendly letter to him.

Your letter from Sam seems to be of late date. M^{rs} H., they tell me, is between 60 & 70 years old, & more ugly than antique. This may give you a clue to my present sentiments, whatever they *have* been.

Will do every thing in my power to serve M^r Aitkin, & am

Yrs., JOHN ELIOT.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d M^r Belknap, Dover.

Boston, April 8th, [1784].

DEAR SIR, — Last evening I received your letter, March 20th, and will deliver the enclosed to the persons respectively.

I cannot tell how my sister's circumstances may be a month hence. We are trying to get a house with a shop, which we find hard to be obtained. Her connections, so many of whom are in large business, will make it very convenient for her to retail goods, & her obliging manners, with a more than common understanding in matters of accompt, will procure her custom. Her children, three out of the five, are provided for already under very advantageous & pleasant circumstances.†

* Rev. John Bradford was born in Boston in August, 1756, and graduated at Harvard College in 1774. In May, 1785, he was ordained over the Second Church in Roxbury. He died Jan. 27, 1825. (See Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. i. p. 382.) — EDS.

† The reference is to the writer's sister-in-law, the widow of his brother Samuel, who died in March. — EDS.

I would have you bring Sally by all means; whatever may be her (my sister's) situation, you may depend upon meeting with friends who will be glad to entertain her.

I received the books, but did not see Mr Fisher.

Now let me beg a favour of you; rather make a demand. You promised to return the observations w^{ch} you made upon the Abbé Reynal's question. This was the condition of its going out of my hands. Now I am caterer for the Magazine this month, & I want it to appear splendid with original pieces. I *must* have this to set it off; don't refuse me. You may be concealed as the author, if you please. Send it down to Portsmouth to Mr Treadwell, that Greenleaf may receive it next Tuesday morning. I shall be at Portsmouth the week after, & shall then certainly expect to receive it, if you are unable to send it so early as I have mentioned. I can then send it to one of my coadjutors, tho' I had rather receive it *much* before I set out. Any thing else you have by you will be acceptable.

We had our house broke open last week, lost a number of things; among the rest, a watch rendered valuable more by its circumstantial than intrinsic value, tho' that was considerable. It was a legacy of my brother Sam's to his little boy.

Regards to your family, & am

Yrs., &c.,

JOHN ELIOT.

JOSIAH WATERS TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

BOSTON, May 13, 1784.

DEAR SIR,—Among the most disagreeable occurrences of human affairs I have allways consider'd that there are but few greater than being under the necessity of calling

* Colonel Josiah Waters, Jr., was an intimate friend of Mr. Belknap. In the Boston Directory for 1789 he is put down as a distiller in Essex Street, with a house in Newbury Street. — Eds.

on particular friends for payment of old debts. Duty & inclination severely clash, though the latter must give place to the former. This, my dear Sir, is precisely my situation, and I assure myself that your friendship will find an apology for me much better than my pen can frame one. You may remember I some time since wrote you that the heirs of my late Father Whitwell had earnestly pressed me for a settlement of the estate, inso-much that I have made as far as I could a division of the personal securitys, retaining that of yours in my own hands to be disposed of in an after division, which must be made, not in securitys, but cash, and that without delay. The estate also of my late Brother Whitwell, to which you stand indebted must be settled, & in order thereto a collection of debts is indispensibly necessary. However painfull the task is to me, I am under the necessity of performing it, and I had rather write than speak personally what I am under the necessity of doing, which is no less than this: that you must immediately, & without the least delay, discharge the two debts above referred to, or I shall be under the necessity of putting them into the hands of another to collect. I expect to be at Dover the begining of June, when I hope you will be ready, and so prevent my taking any step inconsistent with my wishes. However harsh this address may appear from one who so tenderly regards you, yet when you consider me in my official capacity you cannot blame me, and I hope our friendship will not be interrupted hereby, for you may rest assured that your happiness & that of yours is most ardently wished for, and shall be as ardently sought in my private capacity. I should have written you before & given you more notice, but I could not be willing to trust a letter of this kind to any person but one in whom I placed the utmost confidence.

I am, d^r Sir, your friend, &c.,

JOSI. WATERS, JUN^r.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev.^d Mr. Belknap, Dover. The care of Mr. Treadwell.

BOSTON, August 26, '84.

DEAR SIR, — I am glad you found means of rendering the ther^t of any service to you, and wish from this day you would keep a regular account of the heat & cold, making a certain degree the freezing point, which is 32 in Farenheit's scale; hence we shall be able to compare together. I think that it is marked in yours, but as your scale ascends I forget exactly.

You ask what hath become of Paddy? * Poor fellow, I am afraid he is in trouble. His wife & family are now come, & put themselves upon him, understanding, as I learn, that he was to be settled at Dr Cooper's. He was buoyed up with such an idea, and flattered himself that there were no difficulties at all in the way. It was only to hear him, & they would be too much captivated to let him go. In short, he is the most conceited & most imprudent man I ever met with, & yet hath many good qualities both of head and heart.

You will find his observations upon Blair's Lectures confirmed by the Critical Reviewers, who have raked together several pages of his bad English, & they have done it with as much ill nature as judgment. His greatest crime, I believe, is owing to his being a man the other side the Tweed. I hate national prejudice, and so I do all kinds of prejudices, and therefore find great fault with our friend Hazard's observations, which are by no means liberal, & which savour too much of the Calvinistic spirit. In much the same style he wrote to me. I doubt

* Rev. William Hazlitt, father of the essayist, was a Unitarian clergyman, who came to America after the close of the Revolution, but subsequently returned to England. In December, 1785, he preached a Thanksgiving Sermon at Hallowell, Maine, which was printed. A copy of it is in the list of books and pamphlets given by Rev. Dr. Freeman at the second meeting of the Historical Society. — Eps.

not Hazlit's being a Socinian. But a Socinian hath as much right to complain of a Calvinist's principles, & so what will become of brotherly love? He may deserve censure for spreading his principles, & here I think Hazard should have rested the matter, without saying he chose to remain unacquainted with a man meerly on account of his speculative opinions.

I received a letter from Hazard to-day. He tells me that your books will be here in a day or two. I shall send you word. No; he will write you. Why cannot you make it convenient to be here the second or third Sunday in Sep^r? It would suit me admirably well, as these are the Sabbaths I shall be with you,—in your parts, I mean. You will at least know from this when you may bibulate to my salubrity, &c. It will then give me much pleasure to see you at Portsmouth.

Cutler had acquainted me with your tour to the White Mountains.* I am sorry you could not reach the summit. Brother Cutler is romantic in his description, as well as you in the short touch you gave me in your letter. Can you yet discover the cause of their whiteness? How many times have we any account of persons reaching the summit? Are they entirely within the bounds of New Hampshire? What you told me was new, that Connecticut River sprung from these mountains. The other two I had supposed. Had it been the fall, & I less engaged than I shall be this fall, I would have bore you company. Perhaps in some future time I may make it convenient. Cutler tells me he means to go again. I was at Portsmouth when you was absent, & pitied you one very hot afternoon.

D^r Chauncy's Restitution book is not yet come over,

* Mr. Belknap made a tour to the White Mountains in the summer of 1784, in company with Rev. Manasseh Cutler and several other persons. Of this tour he kept a diary, which is printed in the first part of the Belknap Papers (5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. pp. 386-401); and also sent an account of it in a letter to Eben Hazard (see 5 Mass. Hist. Col., vol. iii. pp. 170-189). — Eds.

except one doz. which he hath given away to particular friends, among whom is not your humble servant, or I would send it to you. Dilly served him a trick, it is said,—sold off the impression w^{ch} was to have been sent here, and is now striking off another. I cannot vouch for the truth of more than one half which I hear. The book upon Benevolence is published in Boston. If you want one of them, I will procure it. Well thought off. Will you let me have the two volumes of the Rambler, or the last volume, which is all I shall want, only let it be the whole one? If you can get it to Portsmouth when I am there it will do. Have you got my books from Noah Parker yet? D^r Mather knows nothing of any Indian vocabulary. M^r S^t John tried everywhere for such a thing, & for Eliot's translation of the Bible, when he was in town. He is Consul of France for the State of New York, a man of great literary taste.*

We are all well; desire to be remembered.

I am yrs. affectionately,

JOHN ELIOT.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Rev^d M^r Jeremy Belknap, Dover.

BOSTON, Decem^r 30, 1784.

DEAR SIR,—I received your kind letter with those pleasing sensations which ever accompany your epistles, & shall improve this opportunity to convince you that nothing shall on my part interrupt a correspondence so much valued. I never was a very lovesick single man, nor shall I be a very uxorious married man. To be sure my present situation shall not interfere with the duties incumbent upon me towards my friends. I always thought

* Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, for a short time Consul at New York, was born in Caen in Normandy in 1731, and spent many years in this country. Subsequently he returned to France, where he died in 1813. (See Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. xiii. pp. 236-240. —EDS.)

it a mistaken policy with the Jewes to let the honey moon last a year.

I am glad you are pleased with the *Lives of the Poets*. It is happy for them who are so poor that they cannot purchase an epitaph that the first genius of the age should employ his pen in their service, & deal out panegyric gratis, or censoriousness, should that be most agreeable to the present humour of his fancy. I never read but few of them, & should therefore be glad to receive them when you have an opportunity of writing or sending.

I am sorry you have any reason to be discouraged about your *History*. They who do not think it a most valuable work are no judges, & such as do not purchase it, more especially if they are inhabitants of New Hampshire, are too pitiful to be noticed in any future records. You do wrong to reckon upon the condition of British genius. There is something peculiar in that island which takes nowhere else. In other places men are reduced to poverty from the want of that which would make them independant. But there they become poor & abject from superfluity. A man having a large pension on account of peculiar excellencies, or getting large sums by his works, is sure to turn rake, gamester, or knight errant in benevolence, by which I mean that romantic kind of generosity which stimulates them to give away more than is craved for. Not content with removing objects of wretchedness from the dunghill, or affording them the comforts of life, but they must become wretched themselves for the sake of seeing them in kings' palaces. Goldsmith had 1,800 £ sterlg. one year, which was thus foolishly spent. On the same account Churchill, Sterne, & others, died poor. A man of oeconomy in that island, as Mitchel Sewall thinks of the prudent man, is not thought to have a genius; he wants spirit, &c. Now I am certain that you will make a better improvement of

your fortune should you make one by your writings. Don't be discouraged, my friend.

You ask about Brother Cephas.* He is dismissed from Malden, & is considered as one of us. The Church of Malden wrote an answer to the letter sent by the Church in Brattle St., wherein they expressed surprise at their request, & acquainted them that altho' they dism[issed th]eir minister, it was not on account of their, but his, desire. Yet they added at the bottom, they expected a pecuniary satisfaction. Indeed, Cephas had told them with assurance that they should receive such a substitute for him. They esteem this, I suppose, like changing the gold of Ophir for the value of it in silver according to the currency. One thing excites speculation, — the reason given to justify the calling a minister from his people was that they starved him. So spake the society in Brattle Street. M^r T. hath put an advertisem^t in the papers declaring this charge to be false & groundless.† Yet, the day before, he declared in the pulpit to the church over which he stands at this time, that he never would have left his people but for the woe denounced ag. him who taketh no care of his own house, &c. Our Dock Square relation‡ discovers the same zeal ag. T. as he did ag. Clarke some while ago. He declares he will carry the newspa-

* Rev. Peter Thacher. — Eds.

† In the Independent Chronicle for Dec. 30, 1784, is the following advertisement: — "Many reports having been circulated greatly to the disadvantage of the North Parish in Malden, with respect to the manner in which they have supported me, at their desire and from a regard to justice I do hereby certify that at my first settlement among them they voted me a salary, which with the other advantages they gave me was fully satisfactory to me; that in the time of the paper currency and at every other time, when I requested any addition to my salary or consideration for the fall of money, they cheerfully voted a compliance with my request: and though I have suffered great inconvenience by my salary's not being punctually paid me, yet (for aught I know) the people here have been as punctual in their payments as other parishes in the country generally are: and as to the reports of my family's being reduced to extremities of want and suffering, I do hereby declare them to be false and groundless, and highly injurious to the people of said parish, as I am well persuaded they would not suffer any person (much less their minister) to be reduced to such extremities. PETER THACHER. Malden, Dec. 14. A true copy." — Eds.

‡ Mr. Belknap's brother-in-law, Samuel Eliot. — Eds.

per into the church meeting, & prevent the West Society from sending to the ordination or instaulation.

The Magazine will continue, but the present editors will drop it. It is now in the hands of a good printer. Give me your opinion of the Gazetteer.

In answer to your question about Nancy. *Non pas*. I may be a second Parson Prince; you remember your Old South minister; he was near-sighted.

Should you want some books elegantly bound for your Social Library, I have some I would part with at the sterling cost & charges, — philosophical & miscellaneous.

Love to Ruthy, & am

Your affectionate friend,

J. ELIOT.

JOSIAH WATERS TO EZRA GREEN.

Doctor Green, Dover.

Boston, January 3^d, 1785.

SIR, — From the conversation I had with you when last I had the pleasure of seeing in Boston, I fully expected to have heard from you before this time, and of being informed that the money was collected to enable our mutual friend, Mr B., to discharge the demands I have upon him. In this, however, I am unhapily disappointed, and am now reduced to the disagreeable necessity of informing you that the steps I have endeavor'd to avoid I shall be under the unwished for necessity of adopting unless immediate attention on your part happily rids me thereof. The money I must have without further delay, and as I would not wish to be thought wanting either in friendship or politeness I take the liberty of addressing you. Every service it may be in my power of [to?] render to you personally, or to the town of Dover at large, I shall ever be happy in performing, & my ardent wish is

to be relieved from the disagreeable necessity of using coercive measures. Be so obliging as to favor me with a line on the subject *immediately*, and thus you will oblige

Y^r friend & h. s.,

JOSIAH WATERS.

Doc^r Green.

EZRA GREEN TO JOSIAH WATERS.*

Col^l Josiah Waters, Boston.

S^r, — Your very friendly and polite letter of the 3rd came to hand but the day before yesterday. As you request an immediate answer and a conveyance offers, must attempt it without the advice of my brethren in office (which would have been my choice could I have had an opportunity). Am very sorry, S^r, to inform you that we have done but very little towards enabling our Rev^d Pastor to answer your demands; at the same time, declare to you that I have not been wanting in my endeavour for y^e purpose, and perhaps my disappointment is as great as yours that we have not had it in our power to take up our friend's note before now. I really expected that everything that we could do would have been done months ago, but some of us have depended too much on fair promises for our interest, and now we see what I think we ought to have known months ago, viz. that nothing will be done without severities. Before I rec^d your favour, we had determined to issue extents next week, it being impracticable this week by reason of the Court's sitting. If you can wait the issue, I think you will be as near the object as you can be in any other

* Ezra Green, M. D., was born in Malden, Mass., June 17, 1746, graduated at Harvard College in 1765, and died in Dover, N. H., July 25, 1847, being at that time the oldest living graduate of the College. Early in life he served in the army, and as a surgeon on board of the *Ranger*, under John Paul Jones. Subsequently he became a merchant, and one of the most prominent citizens in Dover. (See Allen's Biographical Dictionary.) — Eds.

way, and I will venture to assure you that there shall not be any longer delay in respect to anything we can do to procure the money. However, S^r, if on the whole you think it inconsistent with your interest to wait any longer, have one favour to ask, which is that you would not call us out of the county to answer; but, S^r, I hope your patience will hold a little longer, and we will leave nothing undone which can in the least contribute towards procuring the money.

I am, S^r, your most obed^t,

EZRA GREEN.

DOVER, Jan^y 22^d, 1785.

Col^l. Waters.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO JOSIAH WATERS.

Josiah Waters, Esq., Newbury Street, Boston. Hon^d by M^r Allen.

DOVER, Jan^y 22, 1785.

DEAR SIR, — I thank you for D^r Price's book & our friend D's verses, both of w^h are extreemly pleasing to me. I was in hopes to have seen in print some acc^o of y^e pirate who was executed at Cambridge. Pray is any acc^o of him published?

Y^r letter to D^r G. is delivered, & I suppose you will have some answer, as I have desired him to write by this conveyance, viz. M^r Allen. Nothing more is done (unless since yesterday) than was done when I saw you last, & you may depend upon it the money never will be p^d with^o a process at law. This I have told y^e D^r, & at y^e same time told him y^t y^e sooner it was instituted y^e better. My opinion, however, is (as y^e term for Feb^y Court in Rocksm C^o is past) to set *a day*, viz. the 21st of March, w^h is y^e usual time of settling parish & town accounts, & tell them y^t if y^e m^o is not p^d by *that* time a suit will commence at April Court in this County. This I wish you would write them, & at y^e same time write to M^r Picker-

ing at Portsm^o to manage it as y^r attorney. I will give him what information he wants in y^e matter. It is now 8 months since your first demand, & I suppose, even if it is put into y^e law, there will be contrivances by continuances & staying of execution, &c., to keep you out of it 6 months longer, so y^t no time ought to be lost. Lenity has been shewn on your part so conspicuously, that they cannot but own & admire it themselves; but they need a stimulus.

I wish you would urge James Foster to write to my father. He has not yet got his rent for y^e last quarter, & another will be due y^e 3^d Feb^y. He really suffers for want of it.

Our love to Polly & all y^r family.

Y^r obliged friend & hble serv^t,

JERE. BELKNAP.

P. S. Since writing y^e above I have been informed of y^e contents of y^e letter inclosed herewith, w^h is nothing more th[an a] repetition of y^e promise made 3 or 4 months past. It does not alter my opinion as above expressed, & I am of y^e mind that if you set a later date than 21 of March, you will be likely to be kept out of y^e money a year longer, as you will thereby lose y^e chance for April Court, w^h is a Term Court, y^e Sup^m Court following being in May. You *have had & will have* a specimen of what I have borne for years, — evasion, delay, & subterfuge covered with fair professions & promises. D^r G. is as *a man* honest & punctual, but as connected with colleagues he must do like them. The faults of y^e body he acts for are not to be charged to him, but to y^e complexion of their public conduct.

JOSIAH WATERS TO EZRA GREEN.

*Doct^r Ezra Green, Dover.*BOSTON, January 28th, 1785.

SIR, — Your favor of the 22^d instant I have received, and am extreamly sorry, as well as much disappointed, in not having the money collected before this. Notwithstanding I am under pressing necessity therefor immediately, yet so much do I regard the honor & happiness of the town of Dover in general, and some of its inhabitants in particular, that I will venture once more to fix a day beyond which I cannot extend; and it will most assuredly give me great pleasure not to be under the disagreeable necessity of having recourse to law. This trouble will be prevented by payment being made by the middle, but not exceed the 21st day, of March next. You will therefore be pleased to receive this declaration as final, & believe me to be, with great personal esteem,

Your friend & most hble s^t,

J. WATERS.

Doct^r Green.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

BOSTON, Feb^y 24th, 1785.

DEAR SIR, — Yours 26th Jan^y I received but two evenings since, & now send a return, & will ever esteem it a pleasure, without a Dock Square compliment, to answer any & every question you see fit to ask, & beg you to be no more bashful in doing it, & to suppose an apology necessary.

We have got Cephas fixed. “How does it suit Madam?” say you. She admires it; so many new caps, new gowns, stockings, shoes, petticoats, garters, shifts, tuckers, &c., &c., &c., her ladyship not only never wore, but never

saw before. But "How does she suit them?" This is the question. They complain a little of her having watry eyes, but then M^r T. is so excellent!!! I'll tell you what his brother Tom says. "He thinks Peter ought to have left some legacy to his people of Malden, & he can find nothing w^{ch} would answer so well as his wife." Howard was not of the conclave.* The reason given by his people,—they had lost one minister after the same manner, & sympathised with the poor people at Malden. The logic & elocution of somebody were exerted to advantage, if success crowns the deed. The performances were no ways extraordinary. It is a doubt with me, whether the description in the newspaper was serious or burlesque. Lathrop's charge was the best, however, of any one performance of the day. But Clarke in y^e face of the Council was guilty of y^e most indelicate conduct towards his brother Eckley † that could be supposed. He undermined him about giving the right hand of fellowship. M^r Eckley was desired to do it by the Association, & all at once it came out that M^r Clarke was to do it at the desire of the congregation of B. Street. I, among others, protested against such conduct, tho' Eckley is by no means a favorite with me.

What you mention about the Portsmouth Social Library is pleasing, tho' am not anxious about their taking off any of my books. I wish your opinion about one thing. Before I was married, I wrote to Buck., & among other thing[s] offered to give him Johnson's Lives of the Poets, or Moor's Travells. He never answered the letter, or mentioned any thing about it to me. The night I was married, before the wedding, I offered him a Jo, supposing that to be the value of the books, this being the price of 4 octavo vols. well bound in Boston. He told me he should take nothing, only hinted about my preach-

* Rev. Simeon Howard, D.D., minister of the West Church, Boston. — Eds.

† Rev. Joseph Eckley, D.D., minister of the Old South Church, Boston. — Eds.

ing. Now, what can I do? Will you undertake to obtain, in the most delicate manner, his mind upon the matter? & let me know it by the next opportunity. If you find them disposed to purchase Johnson's Lives for the Portsmouth Library, & will allow you 10/. per vol., I will take in lieu of the money 4 of your History volumes here in Boston. Some time ago I settled with M^r Eliot about my six books, but supposed the charge would have been more. Did you not say that the price would be more? And are they not sold at 9/6 or 10/? Go on, & be not weary in well doing. It will be better for authors in future. I wish you had sent your 1st vol. to England. You would have gained something. The way is open for the next.

You may be certain I will comply with your request about the newspaper, & hope it will meet with some success; must consult Sam about a particular passage.

You must have mistaken me about the Gazetteer. I thought I told you it made part of the Magazine. When I can send a packett, will send you the Magazines, &c. Aye, & a picture of the Marquis de la Fayette, done by those capital fellows who did Gen^l Washington & lady. What transcendent genii have we on this continent!

D^r Chauncy's ideas of Justification pervade his whole system. I thought the 3^d ch. of his MSS. was a particular essay on that subject, & unconnected with any thing which hath been lost.

We have not set up Paddy for a lecturer, but he hath set himself up. He plagued Brother Lathrop till he obtained consent for his meetinghouse. His lectures are poorly attended. No wonder; he spins out the subject, proposes to have 30 lectures. They are good solid discourses, but not adequate to the expectations of them who wish to serve him. I wish he was in Ireland.

You ask if Betsy is to be married to Col. Pope? She is very ill of a violent nervous fever. We thought her

near her end last Sabbath. Her fever is not yet at a crisis, & I feel very unhappy at this present moment. If she dies, very near half the happiness I enjoy goes with her. I never yet knew one person who came so near the Gospel standard of excellence. Is too rich a blessing to lose; but is not this assenting to the propriety of her being taken away?

As to news, the war of the Netherlands hath drawn the attention of Europe, it seems. The best view of the state of things there I have learnt from Mr Ingram, & will send his letter to you, depending upon soon receiving it again. The town hath been full of anecdotes this winter. One while the whole conversation was about Brother Thatcher. Next came the *Sans Souci* Assembly, a subject for farces, newspapers, broken heads & legs, &c. It was certainly inconsonant to those principles which preserve the well-being of a republican government, & to that good mode of education which Dr Price recommends, to have an assembly instituted to encourage the rising generation to throw off all restraint, & to learnt [learn ?] the science of cards. And this in order to know life & manners, & be fit companions for the French, with whom the nation is in a political alliance. French etiquette, French manners & customs, cannot be altogether fashionable, if we abide by our constitutions or laws. Nor ought we to imitate any nation in Europe. We are a people *per se*. We ought to be original, therefore, in our manners, & independent of other nations, of their follies & vices, as of any thing else.

The next thing which became a subject of conversation, & is now upon the carpet, is the bridge. You cannot speak to a man about any subject but what he brings in some about Charlestown bridge. Great interest is made to have it from Barton's to Leachmere's Point. Interests may so interfere as to prevent any bridge at all; but if it is built, I y^{nk} it must be between the ferries. Then for

the glory of the North End. We shall wipe away the *Ichabod* which hath been stamped upon us these many years.

Anecdotes more of the town. — Every thing is strange. D^r Chauncy hath an organ fixed up in his meetinghouse; hath consented Clarke shall have a gown. What will there be next? The D^r says he never will shew any more zeal, or scold, except at vice & immorality.

The people of the Chapel have agreed to alter the Liturgy. Who do you think are appointed a committee to judge what is, & what [is not?] agreeable to Scripture? Why, Sam Brick, Shrimpton Hutchinson, old Haskins, the wine cooper, &c., &c., who have power to put out & put in.

So many town anecdotes will supply the place of family ones. Nothing very remarkable here. M^r Squire's regards to Ruthy. She is here by me while I am writing. Nancy joins. I wish to see you, but know not when I shall be your way.

With all kind of respect & affection, I am

Yours, JOHN ELIOT.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO JOSIAH WATERS.

*Josiah Waters, Esq., Newbury Street, Boston. By favor of M^r Remich.
The bearer will tarry in town but one night.*

DOVER, Feb. 28, 1785.

DEAR SIR, — Your *ultimatum* (to speak in the princely style) was delivered as soon as I rec^d it, before which & after my letter to you & M^r Allen, our Wardens had so far wak'd up as to get their extents made out against two of the deficient collectors & put them into the hands of the Sheriff; the other collector must be sued (a 2^d time, for he was sued a year ago & y^e action dropped on his

giving a note; this is their way of doing business!*). All this, however, will not produce the money by the time set, & they are as well convinced of this as myself & expect a writ; all the favor they ask is that the process may not be in another county. We are now within three weeks of the time, & I intend before the expiration of it to apply to M^r Pickering in *your* name for a writ. I here inclose you an exact copy of their note to me, w^h I must endorse over to you when I put it into the lawyer's hands. You will then be able to form some security which will be proper to give to me (in case of mortality).

I shall give you an acc^o of every step taken in this matter; you need not expect a sudden issue of it. If the action is entered, they will try to get it *continued*; if they are cast, they will *appeal*; & when execution is issued, they will get it *stayed*. I expect a twelvemonths' jobb of it yet. Would you believe it, the salary due to my predecessor, who died in 1769, is not yet paid! His heirs sued for it a year ago, & all these manoeuvres have been practised, so y^t altho' y^e execution has been out ever since last May, it is yet unsatisfied!

One favor I must beg of you. My father suffers for want of his rent; one quarter was due in Nov^r, another in Feb^r, & Jemmy Foster, who has the care of receiving it, has not sent y^e least word about it tho' I have written to him 2 or 3 times, & my father writes by this opp^o. I beg you would be so kind as to make some enquiry into the matter, & let me know whether the fault be in the tenant or the agent. If it be in the former, my father must give her *warning*, for it is impossible that he can live without receiving his due regularly.

I mentioned someth^g of this to you in my last. I beg you would attend to it as much as decency will permit, &

* They have done just so by the man whom they sued at October Court. — *Note by Mr. Belknap.*

let me know your mind. We are all well, & join in love & respects to you & Polly.

I am, d^r Sir, y^r affectionate friend,

JERE. BELKNAP.

This will be delivered by a neighbour of mine, & if you leave an answer at S. Eliot's he will call for it. Pray do not omit writing.

If you think to write to Pickering, let it pass *open thro'* my hands. He is as much a friend to me as Tom Dawes is to you, & of *longer* standing.

(Copy.)

DOVER, Sept^r. 2, 1782.

For value rec^d, we the subscribers, Wardens for the First Parish in Dover, for ourselves & successors in s^d office, do promise to pay the Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, or his order, the sum of one hundred & twelve pounds, seven shillings & ten pence, one farthing, Lawful Money, on demand, with interest till paid.

SAM^L KIELLE. }
JOHN HAM. }
JAMES LIBBY. }

(Endorsed) May 2, 1784. Rec^d the interest to this day, & thirty-four pounds & seven pence, one farthing, of the principal.

N. B. This endorsement was a discount to cancel a debt which I owed to a man here.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO JOSIAH WATERS.

Josiah Waters, Esq., Newbury Street, Boston. To y^e care of Col. Clap, Portsm^o.

DOVER, March 15, 1785.

DEAR SIR, — I had your letter by Mr Remich, & thank you for y^e pamphlet, w^h I think gives a much better acc^o of poor Alex^r White * than y^e other you sent me before.

* Alexander Wight was executed for piracy and murder at Cambridge, Nov. 18, 1784. (See Boston Gazette for Nov. 22, 1784.) — Eds.

I told you in my last y^t y^e jobb we have in hand would last a twelvemonth. You may count for certain 6 months of that space as elapsed, for our G. Court at their last session have altered y^e time for hold^s Courts, so y^t we are cut off from April term, & there is no Inferior Court in this or Rocksm County till *June*, & y^e next Supreme Court afterward is in *Sept^r*. However, I think it will be best to put y^e matter in suit as early as possible, & till that is done I do not expect a farthing of y^e money will be paid. Shall you not be here in the spring?

If you have anything new & clever in the literary way, or any town or family anecdotes, I should be glad to partake y^e pleasure with you. I have lately experienced a remarkable preservation from sudden death, being kicked by an horse in y^e face & thrown senseless on y^e ground. My wounds, however, are not deep. I desire to praise my Divine Keeper for his great goodness.

With due respects to Polly, I am y^r affectionate frd.,

JERE. BELKNAP.

JOSEPH RUSSELL TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

The Rev^d Mr Jeremy Belknap, at Dover.

BOSTON, 28th March, 1785.

DEAR SIR, — The subscribers for the bridge over Charles River meet next week, and as I am one shall meet with them, and I shall not forget your request of having one built over Malden side. Various have been the conjectures respecting the expences w^{ch} will attend a work of so much magnitude. Some have supposed a

* There are frequent references to Joseph Russell in Mr. Belknap's correspondence with Ebenezer Hazard, which show that he was actively engaged in business. In the Boston Directory for 1789 he is described as an auctioneer in Federal Street.

The omitted portions of this letter, which fill more than half of it, relate wholly to personal and family matters of a confidential character, but highly creditable to both Mr. Russell and Mr. Belknap. — Eds.

bridge built only of wood will cost from twenty-five to thirty thousand pounds Lawful Money, while others say it will cost much more ; and yet there is six gentlemen in this town who will enter into a contract with the subscribers to build a stone bridge for thirty-five thousand pounds, and will give bonds with sufficient security for the faithful performance. What plan will be adopted by the subscribers time must determine, or whether any bridge will be built at all, as the expence may far exceed the expectations of many of the subscribers, who imagined at the time of subscribing it might be completed for fifteen thousand. I will write you the determination of the meeting.

We removed into our meetinghouse* on the 13th of the present month. The solemnities of the day was opened with an anthem composed by Billings, "I was glad when they said unto me, we will go into the house of y^e Lord." This was performed by the best masters in town, and, accompanied with the organ which we have introduced into y^e meeting, is a most delightful piece of musick, and is a very great help to singing. It is pleasing to almost every one of the society, excepting a few who retain their ancient prejudices, and who had rather hear this pleasing part of devotion performed by a small number of screaming voices, without order or decency, than have any tuned instrument as a help, however harmonious and agreeable. M^r Clark with his usual gravity addressed the Deity by prayer ; and D^r Chauncy then gave an excellent sermon suitable to the occasion, which was by unanimous vote printed, a copy of which is here inclosed. The house was remarkably crouded both parts of the day, and is repaired in a very neat and beautiful manner, and I think is equal to any in town, the Old South excepted. Methinks I hear you say, Cousin Jo has a nack at spinning, and therein I think your remark

* The meeting-house belonging to the First Church. — Eds.

is just; but I don't know, Sir, that everybody is obliged to write with as much accuracy as yourself; and if every one was restricted from writing a letter who could not do it concisely as well as grammatically, you never would be troubled again by, dear Sir, your very affectionate kinsman,

JOS. RUSSELL.

P. S. Our best love to your good lady and family, and to Aunt Russell and to Lydia, if in the land of the living.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Mr. Belknap, Dover.

BOSTON, April 12, 1785.

DEAR SIR, — I am much obliged to you for your last letters, and am extremely pleased with your recovery from the wounds you received, & trust that I join my gratitude to Heaven with yours that the affair was no worse after such imminent hazard. I shall have time just to touch upon the things mentioned in your letters. I understood M^r E. that Folsom would not go out of town this week, & he has now sent me word that he is going to-day. And I am now interrupted as often as I can put pen to paper.

By [the way ?] Parker & F. are opposite in more respects than one. You see how Parker is trimmed by John Gardner, who is F's friend, & signs himself No Episcopalian, Old Whackum, &c.*

You ask about the orations.† They are printed by a young man who cannot afford to give authors any, more

* The reference here is to a controversy about Episcopalianism and the appointment of a Bishop, carried on in the Exchange Advertiser in the early part of 1785. It is perhaps needless to say that Parker was the Rev. Samuel Parker, Rector of Trinity Church, and that F. was Rev. James Freeman, of King's Chapel. — Eds.

† Peter Edes published, in 1785, "in a neat pocket volume," price one dollar, "The thirteen Orations delivered at the Request of the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, to

especially as he takes their work from printed copies. Tom Dawes has only one, & that he gave a dollar for, which prevented me from speaking on what you suggested. The price of the volume is indeed more than it is worth.

We think here Jno. Langdon will be Governor of N. Hampshire, & Bowdoin of Massachusetts. I think you will not excel Mr. B. if you extract the sense of all your candidates & put it into any one head. Except we prefer T. Cushing, & then you are our superiours, chuse whom you will, not excluding Otis Baker, your sagacious neighbour & pious politician. The election of New H. will excell us in one respect. They will have an admirable fine sermon on Election Day.

Betsy is much better. She has been out, — too soon, however, & in my opinion taken cold. She will be married, I suppose, in less than many weeks, to Col. Pope of Dartmouth, a lawyer, a worthy, honest man, a man of property, of a good heart rather than a great understanding.

I wish as soon as you receive this you would send Johnson's Lives to Buck, acquainting him with my desire of their being returned to him as the owner of them. This need be all. I rather wish none of the circumstances heretofore mentioned to be repeated. Am very glad you have so good a privy council. Only don't take advice there about writing Histories. I have no doubt but they will sell in time. I knew a printer in this town who published Fordice's Addresses, & sold for a year or two not enough to pay him for the paper, who the other day told me that it had been a very pretty affair to

commemorate the evening of the fifth of March, 1770; when a number of citizens were killed by a party of British troops quartered among them in time of peace. To which is added an Oration delivered at the Chapel in Boston, April 8, 1776, on the re-interment of the remains of the late Most Worshipful Grand Master, Joseph Warren, Esq., Major-General of the Massachusetts forces, who was slain in the battle of Bunker's Hill, June 17, 1775. By Perez Morton, Esq. And an elegant Poem, by James Allen, Esq." — EDS.

him. As men judge of books more by the size than contents, your book, 10/ in boards, was thought to be very high, and people, supposing they could purchase cheaper by & bye, neglected for the present. I never knew till your letter that the price was reduced. I wish, instead of being confined to Hastings' shop, they were scattered thro' the town, & other towns in the State & in other States.

I never did think, & cannot now think, Hazard was cunning in his bargain with Aitkin. There is a great difference when a printer is paid so much for [the?] thing, & is to depend upon an uncertain sale, & I cannot but think that A. charged abominably. Only consider what Dilly charged Chauncy, w^{ch} is a book certainly equal in labour of printing to your History.

I am exceeding sorry to hear of the conduct of your people towards you. If any prospect opens, leave them, either to settle with some other congregation, or to go into other kind of business which you may do to better advantage than starving, as every one must who has nothing more solid to digest than promises.

As to Charlestown, no person will be able to settle there in peace. Mr Avery had a call there. It put the town in a flame; 16 or 20 of the principal characters protested ag. his settling. And his own friends were obliged to leave him. Brother Evans is now there. The party in opposition to Avery & some of the friends of that gentleman wish to settle him. About the same number who were attached to A. oppose Evans as stood out ag. A. settlement, & Evans will not be called. This has made many mad, & I fancy till the present storm is over nothing can be done. The popularity of Cephas would not be sufficient to unite them. They are in a most divided state.

Do tell me whether you ever got Price & Priestly's controversy, or the Book of Oaths from Portsmouth. I

never will let another book go there if you have not. Nancy is well, and joins in regards to Ruthy & the family.

And am yrs., &c.,

J. ELIOT.

JOSEPH RUSSELL TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Boston, 2^d May, 1785.

DEAR SIR, — Your most esteemed favor of the 21st ultimo came duly to hand, the contents of which gave me both pleasure & pain. I shall not make any remarks on the confidential paper accompanying your letter, as I shall certainly pay you a visit the latter end of this month,* or beginning of next, if nothing extra sh^d prevent me the pleasure I anticipate in the tour. I promised you I would communicate on the subject of bridge-making; agreeable thereto, I would inform you that the proprietors at their last meeting chose by ballot twelve directors, which directors nominate and appoint out of their own number a president and vice-president, which president, or in his absence the vice-president, is to be the president of all future meetings of the corporation. The directors are to have the whole management in contracting for the building and compleating the bridge. They have already agreed with one Cap^t Stone to oversee the workmen, to procure materials and labourers, and in fact to superintend the whole concern, for which service he is to receive eleven hundred pounds, L. M. I suppose next week the work will be begun, and carried on as fast as possible until compleated.

I dare say you have heard of the merchants and traders having had a meeting on the very alarming state of the trade, occasioned by the numerous collection of

* I had rather see you here at Election, and I wish you to write me whether you will come at that time. — *Note by Mr. Russell.*

British factors, agents, and others who are continually coming among us. They passed a number of very spirited resolves, a copy of which I would have inclosed, but am certain you have seen them in our newspapers. There was a committee out of the body appointed to write to the merchants and traders in this and the seaports of the neighbouring States, as also to draft a petition to Congress, and also to instruct the Representatives of the other States to vest a power in the hands of Congress to regulate the trade of the United States, as the best mode of relief. There is a committee of seven also appointed by the body to approbate whom they please. I am unfortunately one of their number. Deacon Isaac Smith, John Sweetser, Col. Waters, Amasa Davis, John Gardner, & Thomas Dawes are the others. You may well suppose our commission to be very disagreeable. We have as yet approbated only one gentleman, and he was recommended by a very large number of the most respectable characters in the town, — Governor Hancock was one of the number, — and as the recommendation came from such a large proportion of the community, we gave him a verbal permission to land and store his effects. It is a matter of doubt whether we shall give approbation to any others.

I was glad to hear the few articles I forwarded were safe to your hand; and I have wrote by this conveyance a few lines to Aunt Russell, which I herewith inclose, agreeable as you desired. I am not afraid of any bad consequences in your issuing the stores, or of any blame falling on you or me in the alterations we have made. I am infinitely more concerned in the trouble it must give you, and if I thought you would not be amply compensated, I sh^d not have consented to make the alteration. I long to see you, as I want to express myself freely on a certain subject; but mum! —! —! —!  —! I am, my dear Sir,

Your friend & serv^t, JOS. RUSSELL.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO JOSIAH WATERS.

Col. Josiah Waters, Boston. To the care of Supply Clap, Esq., Portsm^o.

DOVER, June 23, 1785.

DEAR SIR,— I have been wishing & hoping to see you here this spring. The suit is commenced, & as the Inferior Court is now sitting here I expect judgment will be given in your favor, & then an appeal be made to the Superior Court, which will sit in September. There has been but little said about it that I have heard as yet, but when the execution comes to be levied I shall expect curses in plenty. M^r P. will take no money of me till the affair is finished. When that will be is very uncertain, as my predecessor's salary, which has been sued for by his grandchildren, is not yet paid; but this you may depend upon, they will keep you out of it as long as possible. I wish you would inform your Sister Whitwell of what is doing, because a year ago I gave her some encouragement that her debt would soon be paid.

With love to Polly & y^e childⁿ, in w^h my wife & family most cordially join, I am, d^r Sir,

Y^r obliged friend & serv^t,

JERE. BELKNAP.

MANASSEH CUTLER TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

IPSWICH, June 29th, 1785.

DEAR SIR,— Your kind prescription in your last most agreeable letter has merited an earlier acknowledgement of my obligations, but doctor's pay, you know, is gener-

* Rev. Manasseh Cutler (born in Killingly, Conn., May 13, 1742, graduated at Yale College in 1765, ordained minister of the church in Ipswich Hamlet, now Hamilton, in 1771, died July 28, 1823) was a friend and frequent correspondent of Mr. Belknap; and there are numerous letters from him among the Belknap Papers. But most of them have been printed in full or in part in the "Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D.," and they are not therefore included in this volume. — EDS.

ally neglected for a long time. I congratulate you on the discovery of your specific. How generous not to keep it as a nostrum! The contents of the *culote* have been in a good way for some time. But the *culote* itself remains *in statu quo*. The disorder in this part is in y^e greatest hazard of proving incureable. Nature & you[r] specific cure the former, but the merch^t & y^e tailor must effect the latter, & they will do nothing without that rare ingredient, *l'argent*. Can't you invent a *succedaneum*? If not, I fear the part already cured will be in danger of a relapse.

I read Cap^t Phips's Voyage towards the North Pole some years ago, but don't recollect very particularly his mode of measuring heights by the barom^r. As this voyage was performed some years before the invention of connecting therm^{rs} with barom^{rs} at the foot & top of y^e m^{tn} & making corresponding observations, by M. de Luc, I take it he made use of only one barom^r & not any therm^r. If so, it probably occasioned a very considerable error in the barometric measurement, & that the height would be greater by y^e barometric than by the geometric measurement. M. de Luc & Sir George Shuckburge were at great pains to ascertain the ratio between the expansion of air & quicksilver by heat, & found by numerous most accurate experiments the ratio was, if not perfectly arithmetical, yet so nearly so as to occasion no sensible error in measuring heights. It is highly probable that the top of the m^{tn} on Spitzbergen in 79° Lat., & 1,500 feet in the atmosphere, was intensely cold, & I think it not improbable that y^e foot of y^e m^{tn} on the south side might be, at that season, considerably warm from reflection of y^e sun's rays from the m^{tn}. Now if the difference of heat between top & bottom was 32°, it at once accounts for the difference in the measurements; for 32° will give 86 feet less than was pointed out by y^e range of y^e mercury in the barom^r in an altitude of 1,500 feet. The measurement

might, indeed, have been so circumstanced that a less difference in y^e degree of heat would occasion as great an error as 85 feet. Whether there was so great a difference in y^e heat of y^e atmosphere between y^e top & bottom of y^e m^{tn} as to occasion the difference in these measurements, I am unable to determine, but I think it is possible. Whether the principles & rules by which these measurements have been made in lower latitudes will all apply without variation in the high latitudes, I think may be made a question. The general principles must be y^e same. The accuracy of barometrical measurements on De Luc's & Shuckburge's plan appears to me to be proved beyond the possibility of doubt by the numerous comparisons of barometrical & geometrical measurements on a great variety of altitude made with y^e greatest exactness by those gentlemen. Many others have since made similar experiments & found them uniform. But I do not know that any measurements in this way have been made in very high latitudes.

In measuring White M^{tn} we found the degree of heat at top & bottom to differ only 2° or 3° . Consequently y^e expansion of quicksilver in the barom^r could not be much different at the two stations. For this difference I made a deduction of 7 feet. Tho' we were unable to make corresponding obser^{ns}, yet I think greater dependence can be made on our measurement on acc^t of y^e little difference in the therm^r between top & bottom.

I feel anxious to make another attempt for measuring White M^{tn} , but find so many difficulties in the way that I have given up the thought of going this year. The thought, however, has been a little revived within a few days, occasioned by the Count Castiglioni, an Italian gentleman from Milan, who is on his tour through the United States, principally with a view of examining their natural productions. He is very desirous of a tour to White M^{tns} , & would make us a most valuable, as well as very

agreeable companion. He has done me the honor of spending a day or two with me. He is a perfect master of botany, & is preserving specimens of every vegetable he finds in blossom. His manners are easy, affable, & engaging, speaks English very well. Am told he is possessed of an immense fortune. He is now gone on to Portsmouth. Should have given him a letter to you, if there had been any probability of his having time to go to Dover before he sets out for Penobscote, which he expected to do in a few days. After his return from the eastward will be the time, if at all, for the journey to White M^{tns}. D^r Dexter of Boston, [and] several other gentlemen, propose to be of the party should it be attempted.

My engagements have been such I have not been at Beverly since I wrote you last. Saw the man who has your books a few days after I received your letter of 16th Ap^l. He had sold one at 8/, but had not y^e money about him. I informed him, agreeable to your order, that he might take 7/ for the other two; have heard nothing since. D^a Story at town has sold two for 7/6 each to a person with whom he has dealings, but tells me has not received y^e money. The money may, however, be depended upon in a short time. I have sold one vol. at 7/, for which I received the money, y^e only money I have received; so that there is now only two books (at Beverly) on hand, & think it probable they may be disposed of by this time. I sent you 12/ by Rev^d M^r Hemmingway, which hope you have received. I would now send you the money for y^e balance of the four books if I had so much by me, thô I have not received it, as this is a favourable opp^y, but have not. This is my acc^t of my stewardship.

The gunsmith at town has made some trials on our friend Place's ore, & can get no copper of consequence out of it. I fear it will turn out of little value.

Please to make M^{rs} Cutler's & my compliments agreeable to your good lady & family, and am, dear Sir,

Your most sincere & affectionate friend,

(In the utmost hast.)

M. CUTLER.

Rev^d Mr Belknap.

P. S. I am at present very much out of health, but hope it will not prove to be more than a very long & tedious cold. I have been exceeding exercised with an inflammatory sore throat, thô it is now considerably abated, but have other disagreeable complaints about me. Pray give me the pleasure of receiving a line by y^e first opp^y.

PETITION TO THE GENERAL COURT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.*

To his Exc^y the Presid^t, the Hon. the Senate, & the Hon. H. of Rep^s. of the State of N. H., in Gen^l Court assembled.

The Mem^o & Petⁿ of J. B., citizen of y^e s^d State, humbly sheweth:

That y^r memorialist hath with great labor & expence completed & published a volume of the history of s^d State, in which he hath endeavoured faithfully & impartially to delineate the struggles & sufferings of our ancestors in the cause of liberty & for the quiet possession of this good land, w^{ch} by the blessing of God is now our inheritance; and he begs leave, with the utmost respect, to present two copies of the said work to this Hon^{ble} Court, one of which he desires may be deposited in the Secretary's Office for the use of the Hon. Council & Senate, the other in the office of the Clerk of y^e Hoⁿ House of Rep^s for the use of the members.

* Printed from the original rough draft in the handwriting of Mr. Belknap, indorsed by him "Memorial to y^e G. Court of N. Hamp., 1785." — Eds.

Your memorialist is now engaged in continuing the s^d History, & is endeavouring by all means in his power to obtain such information as will enable him to give a correct account not only of the civil & military affairs of the country in times past, but a geographical description of the same, & some sketches of its natural history, of the improvements & cultivation which have been made, & the advantages wherewith Nature has endowed it for further improvements of various kinds. In the prosecution of this work, & especially the latter part of it, it will be necessary for him to be much absent from home in making observations & collecting information in various & distant parts of the State, which, considering his situation & connexions in life, must be attended with much expence as well as labour.

To your Exc^y & Honours, as the constitutional patrons of science, y^r pet^r humbly looks up, not doubting that if his design shall appear to you to be (as he conceives it is) conducive to the public benefit, you will afford him such countenance & assistance as to y^r Ex^y & Hon^s in y^r wisdom & goodness shall seem meet.

And y^r pet^r, as in duty bound, sh^l ever pray, &c.

[1785.]

PETER THACHER TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Boston, July 8, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Such has been the constant business in which I have been engaged since I came hither, that I have had scarcely time to think for myself, much less to write to my friends; but you have been much in my mind & upon my heart, and I wanted to communicate many things to you, which communication would have been a relief to me, if it had been no pleasure to you.

I was translated in a *fiery* chariot. However, I got thro' with less difficulty than I expected. I hope it will

be for the best, and that my usefulness, as well as my comfort, will be increased. I should have sent for you to instalment, but it was in the depth of winter and the notice was very short; it could have been but a compliment. I send you by y^r father 2 sermons, one for you & the other for M^r Merriam, which I pray you to transmit.

Pray how do your people conduct towards you now, and is there anything in my power to be done which may tend to promote y^r interest or y^t of y^r family? If there is, you will give me pleasure in communicating it to me. I have endeavored to y^e utmost to promote y^e sale of y^r History. It deserves to be read & does y^r country honor.

Give my love to M^{rs} Belknap & y^r good family, and believe me to be,

Y^r sincere f^d & ser^t,

PETER THACHER.

Rev. Jeremy Belknap.

NICHOLAS PIKE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Philadelphia. To be left with M^r Aitkin, Printer.

NEWBURY PORT, Sept. 22^d, 1785.

REV^d & DEAR SIR,—The knowledge of your candor & benevolence renders it unnecessary for me to apologize for saying I am sorry I did not think to ask the favor of your making favorable mention of my System of Arith., as you may have opportunity among gent. of your acquaintance, booksellers, &c., even as far as your journey may extend. Shou'd I ever solicit subscriptions, your personal recommendation of it might render me most essential service. If it lays in your way to enquire whether the several States thro' which you travel have

* Nicholas Pike, the arithmetician, was born at Somersworth, N. H., Oct. 17, 1743, graduated at Harvard College in 1766, died at Newburyport, Dec. 9, 1819. He published, in 1788, his "New and Complete System of Arithmetic," which was for a long time the principal treatise on the subject in use in New England. In the Belknap Papers are numerous letters from him; but they have not been thought of sufficient interest or importance to be printed in this collection. — EDS.

done anything to secure literary property, I cou'd wish to know the terms required in each State.

With sentiments of esteem & respect, I am, rev^d & dear Sir, friend & hble serv^t,

NICOLAS PIKE.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

BOSTON, Jan^y 24, 1786.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received yours, 12th Jan^y, & before I had received it had come to much the same conclusion about you as you express upon not hearing from me. Judge then that I was somewhat disappointed when, instead of a long letter, such a very short one was handed to me. I expected after your arrival at Dover to have been made acquainted with it, the situation of your affairs, &c. But when Waters & I met, — When did you hear from B.? Not yet! &c., &c., &c. As to my preparing a long letter, I thought you knew enough of me to be persuaded that carelessness was the sin that easily besets me, and that I never yet begun a sermon till the last moment. So it is with my writing letters. I do not stimulate opportunities, but find it necessary they should stimulate me. I have taken it into my head to reform several times, but never yet succeeded so far as the present letter evinces, for I have sat down to write upon the receipt of yours. A good beginning! Well, may it never have a bad ending.

After you left Boston I was sick, quite in a relaxed habit of body, and was obliged to neglect Moice's lectures.* Now to give you a particular account of all these

* Henry Moyes, M. D., an Englishman, came to this country after the war, and lectured in New York, Boston, and elsewhere, on natural history and other subjects. Rev. Manasseh Cutler records in his diary, under date of Nov. 11, 1785: "In the evening attended Dr. Moyes' Philosophical Lecture at Faneuil Hall. Ticket, three shillings. His subject, the anatomy of plants, tolerably agreeable." (See *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler*, LL. D., vol. i. p. 117.) Dr. Belknap's copy of the printed syllabus of the course, which consisted of eighteen lectures, is in the library of this Society. — Eds.

lectures would not be in my power ; besides, very few of them were worth treasuring up in one's mind. Much more labour than profit then would it be to go over & write down his observations with all those parts of Pope, Addison, Young, Thomson, Milton, Shakespear ; all the love poems, pretty ditties, &c., with which he relieved the minds of his audience, not too much fatigued with lessons of philosophy. Yet many of his observations were curious, some things new ; and upon the whole more is to be said in favour of him than against him, — this being taken into consideration, that his audience were such a promiscuous assembly. There was one lecture upon the different state of man, from a savage state to compleat civilization, which was superficial & empty to the last degree. Nothing but scraps of poetry upon the virtues of the fair. It was Quixotine altogether, and displeased *part* of that sex who are said (illnaturedly) to relish flattery. There were some tho' who were *not displeased*.

You have the syllabus. Any particular thing you wish to know, note it in your letter, & I will pay particular attention to it. I have notes of some things that are curious. If I mistake not, his account of the aurora borealis upon electrical principles you were made acquainted with while in town. His lectures of the vegetable world were among the most curious. I give you one remark because it was new to brother Cutler, who is a botanist, a science of which I am ignorant altogether. “All roots are without acid. Sweet roots yield leaves only. Those which produce flowers & fruits are astringent.” “All plants living creatures proved from their analogy to animals in 8 things: organisation, perspiration, nutrition, sleeping & waking, progress from infancy to old age,” &c., &c. I was mostly pleased with his observations upon the food of plants, for I am rather fond of the study of the *factitious airs*, upon which he was very particular. Sub-

stance of plants, salts, water, earth, air, phlogiston. The salts & earth adventitious; there remains water, dephlogisticated air, phlogisticated air, & phlogiston. The roots are nourished by water & phlogiston; the branches by dephlogisticated air & phlogisticated air. He observed that light was absolutely necessary for the nourishment of plants. Behold the flower put into a room, said he, how it bends towards the window to drink in the liquid glory, & bow in adoration to the great author of the day, the source of light & vigour!

You ask about the Magazines. I lent mine, & have not been able to procure others, except I should buy the whole volume. Some loose ones I have which I will send with this, if the opportunity be favourable for a packet.

Capt. Goodwin sailed from Virginia for France between the 15 & 20 of December. I had a letter dated the 6th. He was well & in good spirits considering the voyage.

We have had some things to divert us, particularly the Oratorio. The music was fine. Mr Ray sung melodiously, & the instruments would have made Sewall leap. By the way, that gentleman sent to me to forward the publication of his works,—a volume of poetical miscellanies. How do you think that he will make out? He may forget all about it. To return to the Oratorio. The best description of it was given in the Centinel,—high wrought, to be sure, the glowing pen of Mr. Gardiner. We gathered above 600 dollars beyond all expenses; have taken a number of debtors out of prison, made the rest comfortable, besides having supplied 28 blankets for so many criminals. A good deal of money remains undisposed off. Mr Anning, the Presbytean parson of Long Lane,* instead of accepting a place in the committee, refused by a long letter, in w^{ch} among other things he

* See note, *ante*, p. 263. — EDS.

said, "he supposed it inconsistent with the clerical character to be at a concert of music. He should not be present where the name & attributes of God were so often prostituted. There need nothing more to increase the vices of the town," &c.

Another thing in the wind, & of a very windy nature from what I know of it, "The Humane Society." The subscription only 6/8, & therefore I put down my name. Some vain thing to make some young physicians important.

What think you of the Rev^d Parson Murray's fine assemblies? Aye. He wants to get into Boston, and his house is shut up when he does not come. Our people are so nice that they wont hear Streater, Winchester, the duplicate, &c. Their principal may come to Boston once too often. We have no dread. Had Buck. acted as we do, he need not have so much to trouble him. Noah don't come here.* He *owes* too much. Besides, he would not have hearers. It must be the vivacity, the *jeu d'esprit*, of Murray to make even the blase; much more than his talents would be required to preserve it.

Have you seen Abbé Mably's letters to John Adams upon the Constitutions of these States?

Nancy is well, & sends her regards to you & yours.

Do you ever see our folks at Portsmouth? They are, especially *he*, — what they are.

I am, dear Sir, with all esteem & affection,

Y^{rs},

JOHN ELIOT.

* Rev. Noah Parker, of Portsmouth, N. H., who is often referred to in Mr. Eliot's letters, sometimes as Noah and sometimes as Parker, was born March 17, 1734, and died Aug. 17, 1787. He was brought up as a blacksmith, after receiving a good education, and became a Universalist preacher in 1777. (See Eddy's *Universalism in America*, vol. i. pp. 164, 273-275.) — EDS.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d. Mr. Belknap, Dover, N. Hampshire.

Boston, Feb^y 8th, 1786.

DEAR SIR, — I am better than you will allow me to be, tho' not better than I should be. I wrote you a long letter for your very short one, and now I am writing again. It is not because I love to write, speaking abstractly, but because I love to write to you. Nor do I say this to heap coals of fire upon your head, only will I leave them w^{ch} are there already, which are just enough to *singe your pate* without melting you down.

Since I wrote, have read the Monthly Review where the History of N. H. is exhibited by the critics, who say that the author is a man of candour, judgm^t, & good sense. The passages they quote are some parts of your Preface; the character of the Indians, as handed forth in the specimen previously to its publication; also the letter from the Indian sachein to Governor Mason. Let me ask you one question. Did you ever notice Governor Wentworth? Would there not be a propriety in sending him one, considering his affection for your State?

Perhaps you may receive a visit from Paddy Whack in his rout from this place to Kennebeck. You must let him find fault with every thing in & about you.

Nancy says that I must tell you that merit does not always go unrewarded; but an instance to the contrary is now manifest from the appointment of Major Shaw to be Consul at Canton. She has meaning applicable, &c.

One thing I must inform you about. The famous experiment of making salt water fresh is evaporated into something worse than thin air. It is all a bubble of bubbles. Old Pater West has been imposed upon grossly.* The man whose scheme was 'to filtrate it thro' sand would

* Rev. Samuel West, D. D., of Dartmouth, Mass. See note, *ante*, p. 189. — Eds.

always wet the sand in secret with fresh water, which West did not know. He never would make more than three gallons at a time, & he put about 4 over the sand, which was put in a hogshead with a false bottom full of holes, & the salt water brought under this, & then by a machine he pressed the salt water ag. the sand, and having a cock at the top, he turned it, & out came water; viz^t, the fresh water with which the sand was wet, which being pressed by the salt would, according to all the laws of hydrostatics, come out first; for thus we see springs of fresh water raised by salt water. When the 3 gallons were poured out, he then stopped, & said the sand would not do to filtrate any more, &c. It was found out by a man who gave 100 dol. to know part of the secret; & attempting to try it without wetting the sand with fresh water, the water came out in the same manner, but as salt as you please. Poor Pater West! Among the *decipiaturs*, tho' far from being a deceiver in himself. He has written a pompous account of this affair to the Ambassador of the Court of London. And the Dartmouth philosopher is now the glory of Massachusetts among the literati of Europe. They will soon deal out satyre as liberally as they have dealt out their praises.

Have you seen or heard of D^r Ramsay's History of the War in the Southern States? He wrote to me to know how many copies he might send here. I fear that from the price and local description it may not be saleable. Gordon is in the zenith of subscription glory. He offers his proposals & then a printed receipt for 20/. Who can help giving it? You must fight at least against his countenance. I guess he will carry 1000 subs. from America, — 1000£.

Do you ever see our Portsmouth connections? I wish to converse with you — how much do I! — about things not so clever to commit to writing.

Love to Ruthy & the children. And am

Yrs. most affectionately,

J. ELIOT.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Mr. Jeremy Belknap, Dover.

. BOSTON, March 15, 1786.

DEAR SIR, — I trust that you have received my letter per Jo. Haven, which with one before & this after will convince you how very assiduous I am to improve every opportunity of writing to so worthy a friend; one in every respect far my superior except in this matter of punctuality in answering letters.

How are you? Hope you have passed the winter agreeably. I have enjoyed health & spirits since December, when I had a turn of the hippo, almost in the Sewal style, perhaps nothing differing but indisposition to indulge it, or else the free use of the solitary bottle, &c.

Well, the law suit is so far settled that our Judges did reject the decree of the Court of Appeals, which decides the matter against Doane in this State; but he intends to seek a discontinuance of the cause here, & pursue it somewhere else if——he can.* In this case the Portsmouth gentlemen must seize his property for damages, & so on each side they will be able to contribute this good to society,—feast the lawyers, who already are equal in this country to an E. O. table in Great Britain. Sewall opened the cause, went over the commencement of hostilities, the troops dancing from Lexington to the tune of Yankee Doodle, &c. We who had heard so much of this, & so highly of his reputation as a pleader, were somewhat disappointed. Altho' Parsons had the worst side, yet he was as a huge comet at the side of a twinkling star. It would not do to speak thus in New Hampshire.

* This reference is to the protracted litigation growing out of the capture by the privateer M'Clary of the brigantine Lusanna. (See "A Statement of the Cause of the M'Clary Owners and Doane & Doane's Administrators, from its Commencement, in 1777, to its Close in the Supreme Court of the United States, February, 1795." Portsmouth, N. H., 1795.)—Eds.

What think you of poor Gordon's basting? He will not obtain subscribers. Yet how strange that *printers* should have so much influence in society. D^r Ramsay wrote to me desiring that I would forward the sale of his work. I expect a number of copies, but the scarcity of money will prevent so rapid a sale as I could wish. The subscribers are somewhat numerous to Sewall's poem. He is not a little pleased with it.

Among other things, what do you think of Sam's conjugal address? I saw a letter from Ruthy to him before she had heard of the matter, but *a propos* to the present situation of his mind, & he was greatly pleased,—much elevated with some sentiments she expressed. Suppose that he has answered her before now.

My regards wait on her & all concerned. Shall send you a few newspapers, &c., that you may see the whole of Abbé Mably's letter to M^r Adams.

Nancy & Polly Treadwell join in respects.

I remain yrs., &c.,

JOHN ELIOT.

JEREMIAH LIBBEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

PORTSMOUTH, August 24th, 1786.

DEAR S^r, — I rec^d yours yesterday, but not by Major Folsom. Cap^t Parker tells me he shall not sail for Philadelphia untill the last of September. His vessell is now at sea that he expects to go in. There is no mackarel now for sale. I have made some enquiry respecting an exchange of lumber for rum & mollasses, but see no prospect of succeeding at present, but should I find any opening I will acquaint you. Lumber of every kind is at present very dull sale, so that I cannot advise you to

* Jeremiah Libbey was postmaster at Portsmouth for many years, and a warm friend of Mr. Belknap. He died in 1824, at the age of seventy-six. — Eds.

purchase much with a view of selling it again for the articles that would answer for Philadelphia market.

I copied the peice you inclosed respecting B. G. M. & his friends proceedings to have a paper medium, but the printers (i. e. Fowle, who is an advocate for it) would not insert it.* The Gen^l had just been to the office with his account of the Convention, which will be published, but with such a gloss as to misrepresent or hide the true state of the matter. The printers informd me that there were two or three petitions handing about in this town for people to sign to present to the General Court for a paper medium; but if that is the case, it is done in so secret a manner that no person is permitted to see it unless such persons as they can trust, i. e. people, I suppose, who are deeply in debt, and hope by means of paper money to pay their debts, no matter how much the creditor is cheated; for whenever it is made, I think that will be the consequence, if nothing worse. But if confusion & anarchy takes place, which is not unlikely, perhaps those, or many of the zealous advocates for paper money, may be able to profit by it, and, as self-interest is the ruling passion, all we can say is, they act by that rule. But our unhappiness is, that we have not a government that will check those ruling passions that are destructive to the community, & such I view the one before named. Should they make money at the next session, I am fully persuaded that it would not have a currency in Portsm^o, for the generality of persons are violent against it, and declare they will not take it, so that I expect, instead of its helping us out of our present difficultys, it will, according to the old proverb, put us out of the frying pan into the fire, — that business of every sort will be stopt, and rioting & plunder takes place of what good order we now have.

* We are not able to identify the person referred to under the initials B. G. M., but are inclined to think they stand for Brigadier General Jonathan Moulton, of Hampton. See the next letter. — Eds.

However, hoping for better things, tho' I really fear the evils, I am, dear S^r,

Your most hum^{le} serv^t,

JEREMIAH LIBBEY.

I should have inclosd you a paper, but they are not yet out. Will send you one ☿ first oppertunity.

JEREMIAH LIBBEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Dover.

PORTSM^o, Septem^r 11th, 1786.

DEAR S^r,—I rec^d your favour of the 5th & 6th instant; thank you for the information; will make the best use of it I can to frustrate their plans. We must take mankind as we find them. Its true the picture in the case is a very bad one, but you also mention another which is more pleasing. But, dear S^r, may we not look for & expect such characters to appear in all their —, when the laws of a State, I was going to say, had a tendency to encourage dishonesty and the evasion of every obligation we are under to ourselves & the public.

There are a few persons in this town that are very earnest for paper money, but much the greater part are violent against it, among whom is every gentleman that represent us; and from the information I have from Exeter, the Court appear to veiw the Conventioneers in their proper colour. The General M. was at Exeter conducting agreable to his usual way, fawning, treating, &c., some of the members; and I am in hopes the very means he is using to carry his plan into execution will defeat it & expose his r——y.

M^r Bean, the western post, informs me that P.body was not at the Chester Convention, as we have heard, but says the same report was in the upper parts of the

State where he thinks the people in general are against paper money. He told me that he saw Mr P. body last week & enquired of him what was done at the Convention. He reply'd, he did not know, for he was not there, nor had anything to do with them. Bean then told him what he heard. He reply'd, it was a mistake, for the people would as soon chuse the devil as him. (I think there is a difference sometimes between the principal & an agent.)

Mr Adams, who promises to deliver this, can give you an account how the Court appear on the occasion, as he was with them last week on business respecting the Chief Justice, who is now at Congress.

Inclosed is your papers. I shall observe your directions respecting them. With compliments to Mrs B., I am, dear S^r, with much esteem, y^r friend & hum. servant,
JEREMIAH LIBBEY.

Monday Evening.

The Chief Justice arrived in town from New York a little while ago.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO JOSIAH WATERS.

*Col. Josiah Waters, at No. 55 Newbury Street, Boston. Hon'd by the
Rev^a Mr. Williams.*

EXETR, 24th Sep^r, at night, 1786.

MY DEAR SIR, — You have, I hope, before this time received the letters w^{ch} I wrote you from Portsm^o last Monday. I shall wish you to write to me as soon as you can form any judgment whether what I suggested can be effected. I expect to spend the greater part of this week here or hereabouts, but if you write by the post to Portsm^o, it is probable I can get a letter from thence. I should be glad to hear from you after having consulted with my friends in Boston before I make any engage-

ment in these parts, except from one Sabbath to another, which I must do, if there be opportunity, to keep myself in business.

The week past has afforded a very busy & important scene here. A party of about 200 men headed by y^e chairman of a late Convention appeared in arms on Wednesday last, & beset the house where the Gen^l Court were sitting, to demand an answer in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour to a petition which they had before sent for an emission of paper money. They kept y^e Court prisoners all the afternoon, but as soon as it grew dark a few old Continental officers with some others formed an association, shouted, "Huzza for government!" got out an old field-piece, & set them a scampering over the fences, so as to release the members from their confinement. The mob retreated about a mile or two, & passed the night in some houses & barns. In y^e evening Gen^l Sullivan sent out expresses & collected y^e militia & three companies of light horse. Early y^e next morning he dispatched a party of 30 horsemen by a private road, who came on y^e rear of the insurgents, took possession of a bridge w^{ch} cut off their retreat, & then advanced with y^e militia toward the bridge, where 89 of the insurgents were made prisoners without any other damage than a few slight cuts. Parties of y^e light horse were afterward dispatched as far as Londonderry, & some more taken in their own houses & brought here. They have been examined. Some of them appeared extremely humble & ashamed. They were led into y^e mischief by artful men, who have kept themselves out of the way. The greater part are released & sent home, but six of the most culpable are in prison here, to be brought before the Superior Court tomorrow. This evening a report is brôt in that a rescue is to be attempted, & the Chief Justice has issued a warrant for a strong guard at the prison. As this letter must go away early in y^e morning & I am just going to bed in expectation

of being awaked before day, I shall keep it unsealed tonight; so, wishing you a *bon repos*, I conclude for the present.

Monday before sunrise. — No disturbance has happened, so I hope the culprits are safe.

The whole conduct of this affair on both sides I trust will prove beneficial. “The riotous spirit has met a severe check, which will give a deep wound to y^e knavish system; the hands of lawful government will be strengthened; it will give a spur to y^e militia; & each side will know the other’s strength & weakness. Our Gen^l Sullivan behaved with great prudence, firmness, & dispatch, & success crowned his exertions. Gen^l Ceily distinguished himself by rushing sword in hand among y^e rioters, & pulling them as a butcher would seize sheep in a flock. Several other Continental officers & soldiers did eminent service. The rabble were struck with a panic at y^e sight of y^e light horse & y^e very name of artillery. They fled over fences into y^e woods, & scattered in all directions.”

Be so kind as to let Cap^t Maccarty know y^t I have rec^d his letter. The Loan Office in this State is yet shut, so y^t I cannot get his certificate. But I will talk with y^e Loan Officer, & send him word whether there is any prospect of success.

I am, my dear Sir, with much love & affection to y^r wife & family,

Y^r sincere & obliged friend,

JER. BELKNAP.

MANASSEH CUTLER TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Reverend Jeremy Belknap, Dover.

IPSWICH, Oct^r 11th, 1786.

MY DEAR SIR, — Previous to my receving your favor by M^r Hubbard, the Beverly people had made repeated

application to me to know whether you was determined to leave your people or not, & if you did, whether you would come & preach to them. In consequence of this I had wrote you a long letter upon y^e subject, & waited an opportunity to forward it. But on receiving your letter I informed them that y^e hope of obtaining you was probably at an end. Soon after they proceeded to invite a young gentleman, M^r Oliver, who had been preaching with them, to settle. They were far from being unanimous in their invitation, & there appears to be a very considerable opposition, from persons of consequence, to M^r Oliver's settling with them. M^r Oliver has not yet given his answer, nor am I able to say, with any certainty, which way it will be, as I have not seen M^r Oliver; but it seems to be y^e opinion of those I have conversed with that it will be in y^e negative, & should think it would be y^e most prudent for him. Since receving yours of the 3^d instant, I have seen one of their leading men, & informed him you was at liberty, which seemed to give him great satisfaction, as he was one of M^r Oliver's opposers.

From the reports they have had of you from different quarters, the people in general have been very desirous of seing you & hearing you preach; particularly a M^r Greenwood, formerly of Boston, a very worthy character, now settled in Beverly, has been & still is very desirous of your coming. He has often heard you preach, & is well acquainted with your character. His influence is very great in y^e parish, & he assures the people they will be well united if you can be obtained. There are few men on whose judgment I should place greater dependence in matters of this kind, as he thoro'ly knows y^e people, & has much to do in their ministerial affairs. He also is opposed to M^r Oliver. Perhaps I may consider his opinion in this case the better founded because it perfectly coincides with my own. It is impossible to judge with absolute certainty untill tryal is made, but I can

entertain no doubt of your being agreeable to them & they to you. They will give you a comfortable support; I presume somewhere about £110, & their pay will be punctual.

As soon as I know M^r Oliver's determination, will inform you. He has been absent from them y^e most of y^e time since they invited him to settle, & it will be some time before they expect his answer. It will afford the greatest satisfaction to the ministers in this neighbourhood to have you in y^e vicinity, & I entertain the hope of its being effected. If you should be at leisure a Sunday or two, why can't you mount your nobby & come over & see us?

Have you seen y^e 2^d vol. of y^e Transact^s of y^e Soc^y at Phil^a? I have had opp^y only just to run it over. Thô it does not seem to abound with mere literature, yet I think it is very well done. Your acc^t of White Mountains, in particular, struck me very agreeably. The plates, I presume, are not better executed than those in the Memoirs of y^e Academy; but we are apt to be partial. I suspect from their statutes that no American member is considered by them as an honorary member, & that the same sum of money is required from members of the other States as of those of y^e State of Pens^a before they are entitled to a certificate. Did you pay your money before you received your certificate? If this be the case, I fancy I must wait for mine untill a depreciated paper currency, or y^e tender of old horses, will answer y^e purpose.

While we are waiting y^e event at Beverly, should any other vacancy offer it will afford me the greatest satisfaction to be of any service to you. I hope, & doubt not, a door will be opened for your further usefulness in y^e interesting cause of our Lord & Master. I most cordially sympathize with you in the trials you are called to encounter. Tribulation, you know, is y^e way to y^e kingdom, & while we continue faithful y^e great Head of the

Chh. will not forsake us, & he often causes light to arise out of darkness.

M^{rs} C. joins me in affectionate regards to you & your good lady, & believe that I am most affectionatly yours,

M. CUTLER.

Reverend Mr Belknap.

MANASSEH CUTLER TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

IPSWICH, Nov. 20th, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—Cap^t Francis of Beverly, one of their Parish Com^{ttee}, applied to me last Saturday to know whether there was probability of obtaining you to preach with them a few days. On being informed that you was at Boston, he requested me to write to you, & to desire you to preach with them the two Sabbaths following after the next Sabbath, viz. the two first Sabbaths in Nov^r, & the Thanksgiving, w^h will be y^e 14th. They expect M^r Oliver will give his answer on y^e Sabbath following Thanksgiving, & it seems to be expected by all, & wished by many, that it will be in y^e negative. They were not united in M^r Oliver when they gave him a call, but the number of disaffected, it is said, has been since increased on acco^t of his leaving them so long, having never preached with them since they invited him to settle, which was several months ago. The people are very desirous of hearing you, & being now very warm for settling a minister as soon as possible, they think there is great probability of a union. I wish you may find it convenient to supply them on those days, if you have any idea of y^e situation being agreeable. The bearer is in great hast. I must therefore assure you that I am

Your most affectionate friend & brother,

M. CUTLER.

I have been so circumstanced since you went to Boston that it has not been in my power to write you. Pray favor me with an answer to this.

SAMUEL HOBART TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

*Rev^d M^r Jeremy Belknap, Dover. To the care of Jeremiah Libbey, Esq.,
Portsmouth.*

EXETER, 18th Decemr, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—Your kind fav^r of the 2^d instant came to hand yesterday. The difficulty of the season no doubt prolonged its arival. However, I am happy to hear from you, but should have been happier to have seen you here, tho I hope & trust you have been employd in ministering to those to whom you have been serviceable, advantageous to yourself, & instrument^lo in promoting the Redeemer's kingdom.

We hope to hear from you again respecting your preaching to us, as you mentiond being then under some engagement. I most heartily wish that you may be directed to labor in that part of the vineyard where you may do the most good, & that an effectual door may be open'd immed^y for that important end, and I could wish it might be here. But we know not what is for the best, our knowledge being but finite.

You desir'd me to inform you about the interest, probity, &c. of one M^r David Wright of Hollis. This Wright was not an inhabitant in Hollis when I livd there, but moved into the town since I left it. I am unacquainted with his circumstances altogether. Some of the inhab-

* Colonel Samuel Hobart was born in Groton, Mass., Aug. 11, 1734, and shortly after reaching manhood removed to Hollis, N. H., where he became a prominent citizen. In 1777 he undertook the manufacture of gunpowder at Exeter, and resided there for several years after the war. Finally he removed to Kingston, N. H., where he died June 4, 1798. (See Worcester's History of Hollis, N. H., pp. 212, 213.)

The rough draft of an answer to this letter is written on the blank page as follows: "As your pple do not seem to have in view the settlement of a min^r, the probability of my complying wth yr invitⁿ must depend on convenience. At present I am desired by the society to w^h I have been preaching in this town to continue my ministrations to them until they can determine whether to settle a min^r or not, & this request of theirs I think it my duty to attend to. Should any alteration take place which may give me an opening to return to Exeter, I shall not fail to acquaint you with it, & should any alteration be made in ye views of your people I should take it kindly if you would inform me. — Decr 30, 1786." — EDS.

itants of that town have represented him to be a pritty litigious man, but how that is I know not. As to the original right of David Edwards in Dunstable, which he proposes for collateral security, I should not esteem it equal in value to £70, tho I may be mistaken.

I rejoice to hear that the Massechusetts have made a good begining to quell the insurrection; hope they will pursue the matter to final judgment & execution.

Our State continues to be very peaceable & quiet, & our government appears to be well established. Our President has made a tour round the State, viewing & reviewing the militia. He was recd. among the inhabitants with the greatest satisfaction, & his conduct much applauded. He has done himself great honor, as also the State, in his late tour, & in his exertions to establish & confirm government, & reviving military discipline, & I think it must have the desired effect. He has taken such methods & pursued such measures as appears to be the result of mature deliberation, wisdom, & justice. May Heaven grant that he may be always favor'd with the same spirit!

I must just mention that the Gen^l Court Martial appointed by the Cap^t Gen^l for the tryal of sundry officers of the militia who were aiding & assisting in the late mob set in this town. It continued about ten days without the least interruption. Sundry of them plead guilty, & prayed for mercy; others that did not plead guilty had their tryals in a very forman [*sic*] just manner. The Court proceeded with great solemnity, preserved the greatest decorum & good order, together with that impartiallity & fairness that has done them great honor, & will be a lasting good to the State. Poor French,* the commander-in-chief, was a standing witness ag^t all that

* Joseph French of Hampstead, James Cochran of Pembroke, and John McKean of Londonderry, were the principal leaders of the paper-money mob at Exeter. (See Bell's "History of Exeter, N. H.," p. 96.) — Ebs.

did not plead guilty, & continues to be penitent & humble, & willing to tell the whole truth.

M^{rs} Hobart joins me in our affectionate regard to you, & am with great esteem,

Your friend & serv^t,

SAM^l HOBART.

Rev^d M^r Belknap.

JEREMIAH LIBBEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston. Free, Jere^h Libbey.

PORTSMOUTH, Jan^y 9th, 1787.

DEAR S^r, — I rec^d yours Ƴ Fryday's mail. You ask, what are our Gen^l Court about? I answer, they have spent much time, & done but little public business. You are not ignorant of the disagreement between *two persons*. However, they have at length comply'd with the requisitions of Congress, and have approved of the sentences of the Court Martial, after many severe observations *by some*. Inclos'd is a paper which may give you some idea of the contest.

They have now under consideration a bill which is term'd the Liberty Act, by which it is proposed to apportion to each town their whole proportion of the foreign and domestick debt, as stated by Congress, as also the internal debt of the State up to a certain period (say '85), so that every town shall know what they are in debt in consequence of the Revolution, & each town to assess it on the inhabitants, to give them an opportunity. If they are able & chuse to pay the principle, they may have an opportunity. The interest must be paid punctually, but the principle is left to them to discharge as fast as they can, so as to stop the interest. It also provides that, where any town or individual pays his proportion, they shall have such discharges as to indemnify them from any

further demand in consequence of others' deficiencies. It further provides for the paying the foreign debt, that the tax be assess'd for so much money, or such certain quantity of beef, flax seed, pot ashes, pearl ashes, &c., fixing them at certain prices, and agents are to be appointed to receive them, & sell them or export them for that purpose on the account & risque of the State. This the advocates for it say will enable any man that has any property to pay his proportion of the foreign debt without any money; but if he can sell his articles at a higher price for the money, he has an opportunity either to pay the articles or money.

Those who do not approve of it say, it is making the present generation pay the whole debt at once, as it in effect must operate as a mortgage on every estate for the sum so assess'd, & altho' only the interest is demanded yearly, yet, if they want to sell, the purchaser will consider that estate as under an incumbrance to the amount of the taxes. What will be the fate of it must be determin'd by time, tho' many of the members appear to like it. Mr Fowles can[not] find any of the sermons. The Court have now an act to have only two Inferior Courts & two Courts of Sessions in each county yearly, which destroys one half of the courts so much complained of by some people. It appears to me from what I can learn from some of the members, that our public affairs, altho' bad, with harmony among ourselves and attention to the public business, may yet be recovered to a tolerable degree of respectability, comparing them with some of our sister States. The mob & its consequences, by having the leaders tried & the matter debated as it has been, altho' it is disagreeable at present, will, I think, add much to the strength of government. I heartily wish that the disturbances in Massachusetts might end in the same way, but that I much fear.

I have wrote much more than I intended when I

sat down, & have not time to examine it. You will I know, excuse any blunders & erasements, and believe me to be,

Sr, your friend & servant,

JEREMIAH LIBBEY.

MATHEW CAREY TO EBENEZER HAZARD.*

Ebenezer Hazard, Esq^r, Post Master General, New York.

SIR, — I have the pleasure to inform you that at a meeting of the proprietors of the Columbian Magazine last night it was resolved to make application through you to your worthy friend, M^r Belknap, to become editor of that work, & to make him the offer of one hundred pounds per annum for his services, writing included. I am therefore to request you will as speedily as possible communicate this information or transmit this letter to M^r Belknap, whose answer is expected with some impatience by the proprietors.

It is hardly necessary to mention, that at the expiration of the sixth month an alteration will take place in the proprietorship of the Magazine, which will then belong wholly to M^r Spotswood, M^r Cist, & M^r Trenchard. This will make no difference in the contract with M^r Belknap.

I am afraid my last letter gave you some unintentional offence. I wrote in a very great hurry, & did not recollect your Christian name. I desired the messenger to request of whoever he should see at the post office to

* Mathew Carey was the founder of the publishing house which, under various changes of name, has filled a prominent place in the literary annals of Philadelphia. He was born in Ireland, Jan. 28, 1760, received a good education, and at an early age decided to become a printer and bookseller. In 1784 he came to America, and immediately established himself in business in Philadelphia. There he showed great activity, energy, and public spirit. He died in that city, Sept. 16, 1839. For some account of Ebenezer Hazard, see the Prefatory Note to the First Part of the Belknap Papers, 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. pp. x.-xii. — Eds.

supply the deficiency. If it was not done, I hope you will excuse the informality.

I repeat the request contained in my last letter, for your assistance in carrying on the American Museum; whatever papers or documents you favour me with shall be carefully returned.

I am, Sir, with esteem, your obedient humble servant,

MATHEW CAREY.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 11, 1787.

P. S. An increase of correspon[dence] promises that the future editor, whoever he may be, will not have much occasion to exhaust his own resources too soon.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO HIS WIFE.*

Sunday Even^g, Jan^y 14, 1787. Another post in, & no letter from you. What is y^e matter? If I do not hear from you soon, I shall be afraid something is amiss. Appearances are very favourable; therefore, my dear, keep up y^r spirits.

This town is now again assuming a military appearance. £5,000 L. M. is raised by subscription to arm & equip 4,200 men, who are to march this week ag^t the insurgents. Gen^l Lincoln is their commander. The money is loaned to government. Y^r brō subscribed £100. Gov^r Bowdoin, 250. Decⁿ Phillips, 300. I saw the list this P. M., none less than £6, & but few less than £20. The number of men required of this town is 90, which were filled up yesterday, & more offered than were necessary. The only defect in y^e plan of this expedition is that y^e men are enlisted for no more than 30 days, in which time it is

* The first part of this letter was cut off, and was not preserved. It was written while Mr. Belknap was in Boston, just before his call to the Church in Long Lane, and is indorsed in his handwriting, "Jan^y 14, 1787. Insurrection." — EDS.

supposed y^e insurrexion will be quelled; but if it should take longer time, there must be another enlistment. So we did in y^e war time, & suffered by it, & yet we repeat y^e error.

My love to all my dear children. Y^r affectionate husb.,
J. B.

CALL TO THE CHURCH IN LONG LANE, BOSTON.

Boston, January 30th, 1787.

REVEREND SIR, — Our manifest wants have long pointed out to us the necessity we are in of a Gospell minister. The character we have had of you, and our own good opinion of your talents and ability, have induced us to come to a serious ressolution of calling and inviting you to become our pastor, which we now do in the name of our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ, the great Head of his Church, and on the behalf of our Society.

We promise to love and obey you in the Lord, and assure you that you shall be as honestly welcome to us in all well tim'd admonitions, as in your administrations of comfort and consolations to our distresses.

Suffer us, we pray you, to subjoin the obligations which we have laid ourselves under for your comfortable support so long as the Lord shall be pleased to continue you to be our minister.

We are, Sir, with love & esteem, your most obedient and hum^l serv^{ts},

SIMON ELLIOT,	} <i>Proprietors'</i> <i>Committee.</i>
ROB. M ^c NEILL,	
ROBERT WIER,	
JN ^o BOIES,	
MOSES BLACK,	
ARCHIBALD M ^c NEILL,	
THO ^s LAMB,	

The Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston.

Boston, January 28th, 1787. At a meeting of the Proprietors & others of the Congregational Church in Long Lane.

Cap^t Robert Wire chosen Moderator.

Voted unanimously,

That in case the Rev^d Jeremy Belknap settles with us as our minister, we will oblige ourselves to pay him for his support from the time he commences his charge the sum of two pounds eight shillings Lawfull Money Ψ week, or quarterly if he chooses it, during the whole time of his ministry amongst us; and in case our Society shall increase, and the pews be all occupied, the salary shall then be increased to a comfortable support.

2^{ly}. *Voted*, that the Proprietors' Committee do present the call as soon as may be, and communicate his answer.

3^{ly}. *Voted*, that this meeting be ajourned until the second Sabbath in Febuary next, immediately after divine service.

ROBERT WIER, *Moderator*.

FRANCIS WRIGHT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

Boston, Feb^y 2, 1787.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am happy to have an opportunity to present you the inclosed paper, & hope Divine Providence will afford you that wisdom which is profitable to direct, and be assured, Sir, that nothing in my power shall ever be wanting to make the conection happy.

I am yours, &c.,

FRANCIS WRIGHT.

The Rev^d Jeremy Belknap.

* Francis Wright was one of the Deacons of the Church in Long Lane. In the Boston Directory for 1796 he is called a "tobacconist." His place of business was at 56 State Street, and his house in Cow Lane. Subsequently he became "inspector of tobacco, butter, and lard." — EDS.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE CALL FROM THE CHURCH IN
LONG LANE.*

BOSTON, Febꝝ 7, 1787.

GENTLEMEN, — Be pleased to communicate to the church and congregation whom you represent my acceptance of the invitation which you have given me to take the pastoral care of them according to the Word of God.

The unanimity which you have discovered in this transaction, and the affectionate manner in which you have communicated your request, indicate such a spirit of love & fidelity as gives me the surest pledge of peace and usefulness among you.

Fully convinced of the truth and importance of the Christian religion, and desirous to preach to others that Gospel by which I hope to be saved myself, I ask your prayers for me, and shall always depend upon your hearty coöperation with me in my endeavours to promote the cause of truth & righteousness, & the welfare of the Society.

From the character which you bear among your neighbours, as well as your own promise expressed in your votes, I have full reliance on your sincere intention to afford me that “comfortable support” which will keep my mind free from embarrassment with regard to externals, and enable me to pursue my studies & attend to the several parts of my ministerial work with cheerfulness.

That the blessing of God may rest on you & your families, that additions may be made to your numbers of such as shall be saved, & that you may be

* This letter is printed from the copy entered on the records of the Church in Long Lane, which differs in a few unimportant instances from the rough draft preserved in the Belknap Papers. — Eds.

my joy & crown in the day of the Lord, is the sincere prayer of

Your affectionate friend & ser^t in the Lord,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

To the Committee of the Congregational Society in Long Lane, to be communicated to s^d Society.

WILLIAM SPOTSWOOD TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

Mr Bellknap.

PHILADELPHIA, 3^d February, 1787.

MR. BELLKNAP, SIR,—In addition to what has been offered to you for undertaking the editorship of the Columbian Magazine, I have a proposal to submit for your consideration, which is, that I will engage to pay you, for one year certain, fifty pounds for such assistance as you may give me in conducting a newspaper now printed in this city, and which in a few days is to become solely my property, intitled the Pennsylvania Herald and General Advertiser. The attendance will be requisite on the afternoons of the days previous to publication, and the time altogether shall not exceed eight hours each week.

It will be in my power, and equally my desire, from the probable intercourse I may have with Mr Bellknap, to bring forward other business in the literary line, that will turn out productive of farther advantages to Mr Bellknap, but judge it premature to particularize anything at present, from the uncertainty of such business occurring, and a doubt whether it might be acceptable to him.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

WILLIAM SPOTSWOOD.

* Mr. Hazard, in a letter to Mr. Belknap dated New York, Jan. 20, 1787, says: "Mr. Spotswood is a bookseller in Philadelphia, who, as well as Mr. Cary, came to America since the peace." (See 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 451.) In 1795 he issued a catalogue of books for sale by him at No. 55 Marlborough Street, Boston; and in the Boston Directory of the following year he is put down as a "printer and bookseller" at that place. — EDS.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO WILLIAM SPOTSWOOD.*

BOSTON, Feby. 27, 1787.

SIR, — Your favor of 3^d ins^t is come to hand, inclosed by my worthy friend, M^r Hazard. Had I not formed a connexion with a congregation in this place previous to y^e proposals made by you & other gentlemen in Phil^a, it is probable that I should have made an attempt to visit your city by this time. I hope you will be able to procure a more worthy person to supervise the publications in w^h you are or may be engaged, but if you think it proper to employ me to collect & digest any matters at this distance, I shall readily engage to furnish you with what may be in my power, & I think it is & will be in my power, & much more my wish, to do something w^{ch} may help the cause. Any communications or commands with which I may be honoured will be duly attended to. I wish to be a subscriber to y^e Magazine & Museum, & to have the numbers w^h are published sent me. There will soon be a vessell from hence at Phil^a, Cap^t Doggett, by whom I wish to receive them, directed to y^e care of M^r Moses Black, merch^t & owner of s^d vessell. If you will favor me with one or more subscription papers, I will endeavor to procure as many customers as I can.

M^r William Spotswood, Phil^a, Front Street.

WILLIAM SPOTSWOOD TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, 16th April, 1787.

SIR, — I have rec^d your favor of the 27th February last, p^d Cap^t. Dagget. The letter inclosed, addressed to your son, was immediately forwarded.†

* Printed from Mr. Belknap's rough draft. — Eds.

† Mr. Belknap's eldest son, Joseph, was at this time living in Philadelphia as an apprentice to Robert Aitken. (See 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. pp. 479, 480.) — Eds.

I must confess myself concerned for the future interest of the work which has been undertaken, that a prior engagement has deprived us of the assistance of a gentleman so likely to ensure success. Upon your declining the editing the Magazine, application was made to a gentleman in this city for that purpose, which he has undertaken. On perusal of the numbers since published, you can form an opinion what advances we are making towards improvement. The proprietors, however, pay handsomely for it, £50 a year in addition to the sum offered to you. The inducement to this, by which every idea of profits to the proprietors has been relinquished, was from the motive of giving it every support in their power, so as to carry it through for six months longer with some degree of credit, and at the termination of that period it will shew how far it may be worth while to persevere ; and as the volume will then be completed, it may be declined with greater propriety. The Magazine, as it now stands, wears rather a flattering aspect, the sales being to am^t of 1,500 or more. This success must be imputed rather to the novelty of such a publication than to any merit it can as yet lay claim to. All it now wants to give it permanency is a capable editor, who will take its interests warmly in hands, by supplying it with as many original pieces as possible, and when extracts are given, to be from new works, or from old that are not generally known.

I have submitted to the gentlemen concerned with me in the publication of the Magazine the offer you have been so kind as [to] make of assistance in your present situation, for which they have desired me return you their acknowledgments, and to observe that the heavy sum they have engaged to pay the present editor leaves little room for hazarding any farther expense, as his exertions ought to be such as to render it unnecessary. The proprietors are not insensible that there yet remains

great room for improvement, and regret that their situation is such as leaves it not in their power to make an offer adequate to your merit. I however have their authority to make you the following proposal, — that they agree to allow you for every piece furnished, if inserted in the Magazine, one guinea. The contents of each piece to occupy about three pages of the Magazine, in the type generally used, which is called Long Primer. Those which appear most wanting are of the humorous, entertaining style. If this offer should meet with your approbation, two or three pieces, as may suit your convenience, will be accepted of each month, to be paid for immediately after publication. I have also been desired to request your being so kind as to recommend them a punctual person for undertaking the sale of the Magazine in Boston. If you should succeed in the choice of one, it will be necessary that intimation shall be sent here what number of the Magazines will be necessary, and whether complete sets from the beginning shall be sent. Inclosed are a few subscription papers, agreeable to your request.

I happened thro' extreme hurry of business occasioned me to miss the opportunity of answering your letter and forwarding the Museums and Magazines, but have since sent them under cover to your friend, Mr Hazard, who will be so kind as to convey them safe to you from New York. As magazines and newspapers pay no postage, I might have sent them P post from this city, but thought it best to commit them to his care. You will please to accept my thanks for y^e article of intelligence you were so kind as to send me, which to a newsmonger must have been acceptable.

I remain, Sir, with esteem & respect, your obliged,
humble servant,

WILLIAM SPOTSWOOD.

JEREMIAH LIBBEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

PORTSMOUTH, April 20th, 1787.

DEAR S^R, — I rec^d yours of the 18th instant, inclosing one for your father, which I shall forward as you request.

I have not had any offer for your interest that was worth writing you about. The only one was made by Mr Clapham, of Dover, which was only 800 dolls. for the whole interest. I told him it was not worth while to talk much about it if he would not offer more. He supposed that was the full value (as he said). Therefore we dropt the subject, & I did not think it worth while to mention it to you.

The insurgents of several *denominations* by their conduct appear to threaten the destruction of what *little* government we have, & what will be the event of such proceedings God only knows. I conclude, when Pope said, "Whatever is right," he must have had a view beyond civil government, for in our present situation as citizens of this world the greater part of what *is wrong*, & the conduct of people in general in our present situation is to be reprobated, as it tends to destroy all government & peace among ourselves.

If the Convention in May next can strengthen, or rather *unite us in* a federal government, (for at present we have only the name,) it will be a happy event. What prospect there is for such a union you can judge much better than I can. For my own part, I see no prospect of our having a good government while I am on the stage of life, and sometimes I am so happy as to feel *myself* tolerable easy, considering that it is a world of trouble, & I must or ought while passing thro' make myself & family as easy as possible. At other times it is the reverse. However, I think the best way is to do our duty as far as we can, & then leave the event without distressing ourselves about tomorrow. But I find that

a hard duty. You will excuse my thus raving. Just as the tho'ts came on reading yours, I have wrote. I know your candour will overlook it.

With my best wishes for the prosperity of you and yours, I am, dear [Sir], your hum^{le} servant,

JEREMIAH LIBBEY.

JEREMIAH LIBBEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston.

PORTSMOUTH, May 11th, 1787.

DEAR S^r,—I rec^d yours of the 2^d instant, with the proposals for the Columbian Magazine. I will offer it to the gentlemen here, & should any of them become subscribers or offer any productions I will inform you. Our friend Sewall has deliverd the books you mentiond, which are now forwarded.

I really wish our public affairs were in a better situation, and that the priviledges we have been indulged with were properly improved. It appears to me we have no just ideas of the favours we have been indulged with, and that our conduct proves it. As to our annual elections at present, they are an evil. *Good behaviour* does not seem to be the way to secure an election, but I wont say what.

You know in part what parties have been in this State respecting a President, & I am sorry to see it not in the least decreased between the two candidates. I hope the same temper will not reign between your two. That the States must suffer where such parties are is evident. I can see no reason why 12 months should be the period of the authority of the man who does behave well, but I said before good behaviour did not appear to be the criterion.

It is very true we shall never get the civil or religions world to our mind, tho' at certain times we are apt to

censure those who do not do & say as we think they ought (when we reflect "on Him who knows our frame & orders all things well"). We only condemn ourselves. I will stop, least my insignificant remarks should weary you, wishing we may act the part of rational beings while on the stage of life.

I am, d^r S^r, your friend & servant,

JEREMIAH LIBBEY.

P. S. I remember you recommended to me for the use of my office a lamp that would consume the smoke. If you can with conveniency procure a small one fit for my office, I shall be much obliged to you to purchase it, & M^r Hastings will send it in the mail. Please to mention the cost & I will repay it. If the tin ones are as good as glass, I should prefer a tin one.

Yrs,

JEREMIAH LIBBEY.

The letter for D^r Green I have rec^d, & will forward.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO MATHEW CAREY.*

Boston, 18 May, 1787.

SIR, — By a letter from my friend, M^r Hazard, I have a paragraph of one of yours to him, dated April 10, wherein you offer me "20 guineas p^r annum for writing the historical part of an annual Register, & wish to have a line from me on the subject." Before I give an answer to this propos^l, I wish to be satisfied of the following particulars.

1. From what period you would wish to have the history commence.

2. Whether it is to comprehend y^e history of y^e United

* This letter is printed from a rough draft, with many erasures and interlineations; and in making a fair copy to send to Mr. Carey, Mr. Belknap no doubt made some changes in the arrangement of his suggestions. — Ebs.

States, their foreign connections, &c., & y^e transactions of each individually.

3. From what materials y^e work is to be compiled, & by whom provided.

4. At what time it must be ready for the press.

My situation may enable me to come at materials for writing y^e annual transactions of the State of Massachusetts without much difficulty, & I suppose with some pains & expence I might obtain a sufficient knowledge of N. Hamp., R. Island, Connec^t, & Vermont; & with regard to y^e federal transactions at home & abroad, none except what is derived from their publications. [If you chuse that I should undertake y^e whole, & can procure me *materials*, I will work them up according to y^e best of my ability], & [in proportion to y^e authenticity & variety of y^e materials will be the merit of y^e history, excepting y^e style, manner, & disposition of facts, which will be his own, good or bad].

From y^e little experience I have had of historical writing, I should suppose as proper a method as any would be this: that collection be made of all y^e public newspapers, journals, pamphlets, plans, & drawings that may be published from time to time in each State, or in foreign countries relative to America, & your compiler furnished with them; that he should select such facts & observations as are worth preserving from *them*, & enter them in a memorandum with references. In that case a number of queries will arise in his mind which he will wish to pursue in order to gain a more clear & particular knowledge than can generally be had by publications of y^e common sort. To solve doubts & difficulties w^h may thus arise, & pursue enquiries into matters but superficially known, it would be proper that he should have some intelligent & faithful correspondent in each of y^e States to whom he may apply, & from whom he may expect a regular & seasonable return. Then his judgment &

industry ought to guide him in forming his disposition & executing y^e work. In proportion, &c.

I have no correspondents at the southward beyond N. Y. & Phil^a, but what I have there may be improved.

From some materials which I can now command I may be able to furnish some articles in American geography & biography & nat^l history, & it is probable that such materials may increase with time, enquiry, & farther acquaintance. It might be an easy matter with writers of a certain sort to dish up a fricasee of newspaper intelligence & dignify it with y^e pompous title of The History of y^e United States. But a person who values his reputation as a writer would chuse to have the *best* materials, & even then would hesitate about many things w^{ch} an inconsiderate scribler would venture to throw out at random. To write y^e history of one's own time, & to write it at or very near y^e time when y^e events come into existence, is in some cases impossible, in others improper. Facts & transactions are often viewed thro' y^e medium of prejudice at first, but in a course of time those prejudices may subside, & y^e same person may view y^m in another light, & draw observations & conclusions of a very different complexion. Besides, y^e views & designs of y^e actors on y^e public theatre are often concealed, & a writer of y^e most honest intentions may very innocently give a wrong colouring to things, whereas time & accident may develop secrets & strip off disguises w^h it is impossible at first enquiry to discover.

From these & other considerations I consider your proposal with diffidence. Zealous as I am to serve y^e cause of science, I consider my reputation as at stake y^e moment I consent to undertake y^e work. The magnitude of y^e objects, y^e difficulty of obtaining y^e knowledge w^h an historian ought to be possessed of, & y^e time y^t must be employed in y^e work, are discouraging circumstances. The prospect of a pecuniary compensation is thrown into

y^e other scale, & indeed a man who devotes himself to such a work (unless his genius, leisure, & fortune will permit him to *give* his labors to y^e public) should have some stimulus to undertake it. But by what rule shall y^e value be estimated? It may be easier for y^e printer to say what he can afford to give, than y^e author what he can afford to take, & perhaps, after all y^e calculations w^h can be made, we may be obliged to adopt y^e old Hudibrastic rule to w^{ch} people in trade often have recourse, & in w^h they sometimes scarcely find even y^e shadow of consolation.

Upon y^e whole, Sir, I think y^e nature of y^e work must be such as to need being covered by an apology; it must necessarily be imperfect, premature, & indigested in a degree; yet when these things are known & considered by a candid mind, it may be said nothing more is expected, & so it may pass off, as many periodical publications do. I suggest these hints with you, if you think you shall be able to overcome y^e greatest difficulty, viz. y^e providing materials of the right sort & in proper season, & chuse to employ me in preference to any other person. Perhaps we may not find much difficulty in *guessing* (for it will be but a guess at first) at what lay it can be done. But really, Sir, to speak impartially upon y^e matter, I think it would be for y^e reputation of y^e work to have three compilers, one as near each end of y^e United States as possible & one in y^e centre. My situation, &c.

From some, &c.

You may, therefore, if you please, consider me as a candidate for employment, but as one who needs farther satisfaction before he can make a determination, & as y^r most obed^t serv^t,

J. B.

M^r Matthew Carey, Phil^a.

NICHOLAS PIKE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston.

NEWBURY PORT, May 19th, 1787.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — Your favor came safe to hand, and I have as yet offered it to but a few, but shall exert myself in the matter, though I expect little or no success. We are become very poor here. There is scarcely a merch^t in town able to carry on business but in a very small way. We are clad with poverty as with a garment. However, I wish to know who are the proprietors or publishers of this Magazine, and how they are to come. Shou'd I be so fortunate as to procure any subscribers, as you observe, there will be no postage. If they are to come by water, they will be very uncertain. I mention these things that I may be able to satisfy the enquiries of people. I congratulate my respected friend on his so happy resettlement, & wish him all prosperity, — that is, if he & his lady will always make my house their home in passing & repassing.

I know of no one at present who wou'd be likely to be a purchaser of your house. It is a very unfavorable time to sell real estate, as it will scarcely fetch half its worth.

My book is about a fourth part done, but I fear I shall be greatly hurt by it, thro' the distraction of the times. I wonder what need there was of my commencing author. Don't you? My itch is perfectly cured, but it happens too late.

M^{rs} Pike's sincere regards (my father dislikes compliments, you know) to yourself & lady accompany those of, rev^d and dear Sir,

Your cordial friend & obliged hble. serv^t,

NIC^t. PIKE.*Rev^d Jeremy Belknap.*

MATHEW CAREY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

SIR, — I am almost ashamed to write to you after so long delaying an answer to your letter. The truth is I am so immersed in business, & in so precarious a state of health, that I can scarcely seize a moment for correspondence.

The various expences & difficulties you have suggested in the execution of an Annual Register have almost discouraged me, — at least for the present. Although I never had any idea that the work would be very lucrative, still I hoped it might, even in the beginning, amply defray its own expences, & in the course of time become an object of considerable consequence. But the expence of an itinerant collector of matter, & of purchasing all the pamphlets, papers, votes, proceedings, &c, &c, would, I am thoroughly convinced, make it a burden for a very long time, considering the small encouragement literature is too apt to receive; and my circumstances are not such as to allow me to work *pro bono publico*.

However, I am far from totally relinquishing the idea. I only postpone it for the present. Whenever greater appearance of encouragement, or materials in abundance, invite I shall resume it.

I remain your obedient humble servant,

MATHEW CAREY.

PHILADELPHIA, July 10, 1787.

JEREMIAH LIBBEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

PORTSMOUTH, October 24th, 1787.

DEAR S^r, — I rec^d your favour of the 19th instant, & have forwarded your letter to the General. I have had no enquirys respecting your interest at Dover since I

informd you. I do not think it likely that you could put much dependance on selling your lumber for cash or mollasses at cash price at present.

The Constitution as far as I have had oppertunity of hearing is very generally liked in this State. How some of our leading men in the State (not in this town) approve of it I have not heard. Our Court was adjourned to next January; but many persons in this town have expected the President would call them together immediately on the occasion. However no proclamation appears for that purpose, which makes some rather severe on the P.; but I have never heard how he likes it. On the whole, I am of opinion it will be adopted by this State. I was a few days past talking with Major Hale on the subject. He says he likes it much, but our General Court will never come into it. I ask'd him the reason. "Pho," says he, "do you know, if they adopt it, it will make them honest, & put it out of their power to cheat every body by tender laws & paper money. No, no, that will never do." Pretty severe, I think. It is now very certain that we shall not take up the matter untill you have acted on it; & if you do right, I hope we shall follow your example. If, on the contrary, I hope we shall have wisdom & fortitude to act in a becoming manner, & not let any of your bad conduct, *if you have any*, influence us to follow your examples in that respect.

M^r Wendell informs me that Continental security[s] were sold last week for 2/6 on the £, with interest due on them. How they will sell now he does not know. He says he purchases State notes for 3/ on the £, with interest due on them, & pays for them in anything he has. I have done by yours as I should with my own; let it lay, thinking it better than to dispose of it at that rate. Should the new Constitution take place, & that it will I feel quite sanguine, as you observe, our national character will then rise, & the securitys of course. That the

proposed Constitution may be general approved of & accepted is the wish of

D^r S^r, your friend & servant,

JEREMIAH LIBBEY.

P. S. I will call on Esq^r R. soon. The Court was adjourned to Portsm^o.

ACCOUNT OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE PARISH AT DOVER.*

*Copy of an Address delivered from the Pulpit on Lord's Day,
August 4, 1782.*

It is now about six weeks since you thought proper to dissolve the parish meeting wherein you were deliberating on the difficulties which I had proposed to your consideration. For some time I expected, according to what was told me, that you would appoint another wherein these matters might more fully be considered; but in this I am disappointed, & I have no reason to expect that you will ever revive the consideration of them unless it be begun again by me. Where the *matter* of any subject is in itself disagreeable, it is no easy thing to represent it in such a *manner* as will make it agreeable; however, I shall lay before you a plain state of facts, with such remarks as will tend to illustrate them.

When I was called to settle in the ministry in this place, the *principal* inducement I had to accept the call was the *unanimity* of the parish in their choice of me, w^{ch} was a matter of great admiration, not only among yourselves, but among all the neighbouring people who were acquainted with you. So tender was I of preserv-

* Besides preserving a great mass of papers and memoranda connected with his difficulties with the parish in Dover, Dr. Belknap drew up the full narrative which is here printed. We are not certain when it was drawn up; but it was probably begun not long before he left Dover, and finished after his settlement in Boston. — Eds.

ing this unanimity, that when it was suggested to me that what you offered me would be insufficient for the support of a family without the addition of wood, I did not insist upon that addition while your other aged pastor was yet living, but in my answer, which is recorded in your book, mentioned it as a thing which I hoped you would consider at some future time, & only desired that what you had voted me might be paid at 2 payments, viz. one every six months, which you engaged to do, but this engagement never was fulfilled.

It was necessary at my settling among you that I should contract a large debt, for the purchase & fitting up of an house, the sum wh^{ch} you *gave* me as a settlement being insufficient. Young & inexperienced as I then was, I hoped in a few years to be able to discharge this debt out of the savings which I might make from my annual income; but after some years tryal I found my family expences so increased that the payment of the interest was all I could do, & this not without difficulty.

In the third year of the War, when the current money was depreciated, I tho't it necessary to apply to you for relief. After several adjournments, & keeping me three months in suspence, you voted me twenty pounds, which when received was immediately applied toward discharging the interest of my debt.

The next year when the money was much more depreciated, at the motion of some of yourselves a grant of sixty pounds was voted me. This being insufficient to make up the damage, & being at y^e same time disagreeable to many of you, I did not accept, but asked you to consult with me upon some other method of helping me out of the then present difficulties, & of preventing the like in future. In consequence of this you reconsidered the grant, but paid *no attention to my request*.

At your next annual meeting you did of your own accord appoint a committee of seven to

1777.

1778,
Feb. 23.1778,
March 26.

collect voluntary subscriptions as a consideration for the depreciation of the year preceeding, who were to make report at y^e adjournment. One of this committee collected *a part* of what was subscribed in his list & paid it to me. What the others did I never knew, nor did they

July 13. appear to make any report, at the adjournment, & so y^e meeting was dissolved.

July 20. The same summer you had another meeting on the same account, but dissolved it without doing anything. In the spring of 1779 I found you were again entering on the matter, & thought it proper to desire you not to do anything without consulting me; accordingly, having drawn up a proposal to have my salary stated annually according to the prices of the principal necessities of life, I communicated it to your committee, who approved it as equitable & practicable & reported it to you; but instead of adopting it, *you threw it by* & voted me what you affected to call *a present* of £400, which as the depreciation then stood at twelve for one

May,
1779.

was about one third part of one year's salary.

This £400 I could not view in any other light than as a *partial compensation* for the damage I had sustained by former depreciation; yet so desirous was I of doing justice to those individuals who had all along paid the full value of their proportion of the parish taxes, that I took off their several parts of the tax that was laid to collect this £400.

In the fall of the same year I put you in mind of the plan which you had neglected, & that you had made no provision at all for that year. After several adjournments, as usual on all such occasions, you

October 11,
1779.

voted £1,400 as an addition to my salary for that year. This at the time it was voted was according to the scale equal to nearly three quarters of my salary, but before it was all paid was not equal to one fifth.

In the spring of 1780 you fixed my living for that year on the price of corn, the plentiest & cheapest article

then in the country, & it continued so during the whole year. There was more appearance of equity in this than in any of the preceeding transactions, but as things were circumstanced I was a considerable loser. For the corn rate & the £1,400 rate were both collected at the same time by two different persons, & there was annexed to the £1,400 list another distinct sum for the other parish charges, all which together formed a scene of perplexity & confusion.

I had as usual taken off from the depreciation list those persons' rates who had paid me the full value according to what was called "the old way," but this did not satisfy many of them unless I would also take off their part of the other parish charges, which in reality I had nothing to do with. Influenced, however, by a love of peace, & ready to sacrifice my own interest to promote it, I consented, & at the same time, to ease the collector, I took off some persons' rates who had *partly* paid me, & some who had *promised* to pay me; & by their failure I suffered another loss. By means of the receipts which in this manner I had given to the collector it appeared at the time of settling the yearly March,
1781. accounts that I had given receipts for more than you had voted me, though this overplus was far short of what I had lost by your not voting enough. There was at the same time something due to me upon the corn list, & here arose a difficulty. Had a proper settlement been made for the arrears of the three past years I was assured that something very considerable would have been due to me; but there was no disposition in the parish to make such a settlement; there was no law to oblige you to do it; there was no scale of depreciation *then* established; & there was no way left to settle the accounts at that time & preserve peace but for *me to sacrifice my interest*. Desirous of preventing a dispute, I gave a receipt in full, & at the time of subscribing it declared to

the Wardens that I did it *only* for the sake of peace. This was in the spring of 1781, & as the paper money was then going out of circulation I determined that I would make a fair experiment that year how far my salary would go toward the support of my family, and at the close of y^e year found it to fall short about one fifth. I also found myself considerably in arrears for the interest of my long standing debt.

Before I proceed I shall make 2 or 3 observations on this part of my narrative. (1.) By reason of the many applications which have been made to the parish on my account in these times, the many delays, adjournments, reconsiderations, & proposals of one kind & another, the affair of my support grew to be a fruitful subject of debate, altercation, & uneasiness, & was rendered much more burdensome to many of you than there was any just reason for. (2.) It appears that I used the most proper means that were in my power to prevent this evil by repeatedly & constantly desiring you to *fix* my salary in such a manner as that it might not be subject to such continual votes. I was early aware of the danger of such a matter being handled in popular meetings. I had been acquainted with the ill effect of such things in other places, & would have guarded against it here, but every attempt which I made was constantly *evaded & frustrated*. (3.) During all this time I was in a great measure hindered from that part of business which is usually expected of ministers, viz. *visiting*, & the causes of my hindrance were these: the necessary attention, care, & *labour* which I was obliged to bestow in support of my family; the want of a convenient *pasture for my horse*, having been obliged to put him for several years at two & three miles distance; & the very great & shameful neglect of this town in providing *schools*, so that I have been obliged to spend great part of my time (but not so much as I ought to have spent) in the instruction of my

children. This I know is regarded by many of you as a thing of little or no consequence, but it appears in a very different light to me. By these & other causes I have been hindered in a great measure from hearing & removing in the proper season those difficulties, misapprehensions, & mistakes which have arisen in the minds of the people on account of the very intricate manner in which parish business has been transacted, which few or none but those immediately concerned ever understood; and thus the indifference which many of this people always had toward religion & the Gospel ministry has been strengthened & increased till it has risen to disaffection.

Now to proceed. When, at the beginning of the present year, I found myself in the situation 1782. before mentioned, I was fully convinced of the necessity of some speedy & vigorous exertions to remedy the evils which I felt. I considered that Providence had placed me at the head of a family which required much attention & expence; I considered also the income w^{ch} I receive of you as insufficient, though managed with the utmost frugality w^{ch} I am capable of; I considered also my large debt, the interest of which I had not been able to keep down, & the impossibility of discharging it if a demand should be made upon me, without selling my house & turning my family out of doors. I mentioned these difficulties to one & another of you in y^e course of conversation, as I had frequently done for years before, but I could find no prospect of relief. I was convinced that it was not right to sit still & see my affairs go backward without endeavouring to help myself, but what could I do? To apply to the Parish for help was a very undesirable method. I knew from what I had heard & observed that such applications are always a fruitful subject of dispute & trouble. I was fully aware that it would produce a great variety of enquiries, surmises,

jealousies, suspicions, reports, reflections, & reproaches, all which I wished to avoid, & I had no reason to hope from the manner in which parish matters had been conducted that such an application would be attended with success.

In this perplexity I applied to some judicious friends for their advice, & after further revolving the matter in my own mind I was persuaded that it was my duty to lay my case before the parish for their consideration. My principal reason for coming to this conclusion was, that, if I did not do this before I took any other method for relief, it might be said that I did not deal fairly by you, & did not give you an opportunity of relieving me & retaining me in your service. I therefore resolved that I would make the tryal. I knew there was a risque to be run; but I thought my situation was such as to justify a risque. However, I determined previously to sound the disposition of the parish by a request that they would *provide a pasture for my horse*, & I soon found that this was a favour too great to be granted me, though (as usual) I was kept two months in suspense before I could get *any answer* to my request. Under all these discouragements I made a representation of my circumstances to you in general terms, which was regularly brought before you at the parish meeting in June last; & to this I added my opinion of what would be the consequence of a refusal on your part to attend to it, viz. *my removal from you*. The reason of my adding this was, that, if I had barely proposed the matter to your consideration *without this*, I was persuaded from my former experience that *no notice* would have been taken of it.

When your committee came to talk with me on the matter, I opened & explained the whole of it to them, much in the same manner that I have now done to you. I told them everything, & kept back nothing which I could judge proper for them to know in order to their

forming a just idea of my circumstances, & I proved many things which I said by an appeal to your own records, & to the persons who had been immediately concerned in transacting the parish business.

It has been said that your committee could get no satisfaction from me. The foundation of the report, I suppose, is this. There were some questions asked which I did not answer in the manner w^{ch} they expected; but I had my reasons for it. I was asked whether I would rather leave you than stay with you? To this I objected as a very improper question, because the matter was not to be determined by *choice*, but by *necessity*. I was always ready to obey what appeared to be the *call of Providence*. I was governed by this consideration in settling with you, & I think it my duty to submit to it on all occasions. Another question was, What would I take to make me easy? which induced me to ask in my turn, Whether the parish were willing to do *anything* to make me easy? To this I could not obtain *one word* by way of answer. They could not say that there was any appearance of a disposition in the Parish to do anything for my relief. It was at the same time my opinion, that if any proposals were to be made they should come from you & not from me. What report this committee made, you doubtless know better than I, but it seems that the meeting was dissolved without anything done or even proposed to be done.

This is, according to the best of my judgment, a fair account of the whole matter. I was induced to lay this before the whole Parish in this way, to clear up the misrepresentations which have been made among yourselves, & to give you all a full account of my views & designs in this movement, which I should never have made had I not been driven to it by necessity.

I could add a great deal more to clear myself & my family of the groundless surmises which have been in-

vented on this occasion; but having fairly & truly represented the matter, I shall rest it with you for the present, after observing that I have been bro't into these difficulties wholly *on your account*. It was for your sake that I submitted to such a life of dependence; for your sake I have foregone the advantages of a temporal nature which other men of my years have enjoyed, & which I might have enjoyed in some other station, to acquire the means of living independently. Your *unanimity* and your *earnest desire* of my settling among you were the principal inducements which I had to comply with your request. If this unanimity is destroyed, the ground on which I stood is removed. I have lived among you about sixteen years, & in that time I hope I have been the means of doing *some* good; I wish it had been *more*. I know I have many errors & failings to be humbled for, but I am not sensible that I have injured any person *but myself*. I know I am deficient in some qualities which are necessary to render a minister popular in *such a place as this*, & I know it is not in my power to remedy that defect. However, you have known & proved me, & I have known & proved you. I have made as *few* complaints as possible, & always with *extreme reluctance*; but my mind has many a time been strongly agitated, thrown out of its due byass, & unfitted for its proper exercise, by thinking on the difficulties of my situation. Nevertheless, as Providence has placed me here, I tho't it my duty to give you this account of my difficulties, that you may have another opportunity of removing them. I am very loth to be a burden or a bone of contention to you; but no judicious person can think it possible for me to live in character among you without some effectual help. If you think proper to attend to this any farther, I only desire that you would deal with me openly & fairly, & *without delay*, & that you would let me know whether you mean to afford me any assistance, either publicly or

privately. But if you should pay no regard to what I have now said, you will reduce me to the very painful necessity of laying the whole affair before an *Ecclesiastical Council*.*

The foregoing address induced the Parish to appoint another meeting, & on the 19th of the August 19,
1782. same month they voted “to pay the deficiency of my “salary occasioned by the fluctuating situation of the “paper currency, if any should be found by a committee “chosen for the purpose of examining into that matter “by the scale of depreciation.” The said committee were also authorised to request me “to certify to them “what farther provision was necessary to be made for “my support.” Upon their application I reminded them of the *old claim* which I had upon them for *wood*, & also of my late request for *pasturing*. On the 2^d of Sept. 2. September the committee reported, that, “after “a careful examination into the payments which I had “received from time to time they did find according to “the scale of depreciation the sum of £112.7.10 $\frac{1}{4}$ L. M. “due to me to make up my due to the present time, “viz^t: —

“ For the year 1777	£38. 8. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
“ For the year 1778	63. 5. 5
“ For the year 1779	10.13. 9
	112. 7. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$

This report the Parish accepted, & at the same time voted to raise £12 annually for purchasing wood for my use.† When the Wardens (with others) came to give me their obligation for the payment of the sum voted, I put

* The original manuscript of this address, partly in short hand, and with numerous interlineations and erasures, is also among the Belknap Papers. It is indorsed by Dr. Belknap, “Public Address to the Parish, Aug. 4, 1782.” — Eds.

† No notice was taken of the request for pasture. — *Note by Dr. Belknap.*

them in mind, that if each of the before-mentioned sums were due for the deficiency of the three years named, there was also interest due on each to the present time, which amounted to above £23. To this they paid no regard, but gave me a note for £112.7.10, according to the vote. They however *repeated* what I had before heard, that there was a design to raise one hundred dollars by subscription to be added to the £112 to help me out of *all* my debts & difficulties. The report of this subscription was circulated through the neighbouring towns, & it was believed in some of them that the money was raised & paid to me. But in fact *the subscription never existed even on paper*. It was a mere report, calculated to make them appear generous; but I am persuaded was never really intended by the propagators of it, though some honest people in the parish were deceived into a belief that such a thing would have been set forward.

With my £112 note & my additional £12 per annum I endeavoured to make myself contented, & had the former been paid according to promise, as it might easily have been, (for hard money was plenty that & the two following years,) the world would never have been disturbed with any farther talk of complaints on my part. But during that period no part of it was paid excepting that about £30 of it was discounted by one of the collectors, who received a note of mine due to a person in this town, & gave his obligation to that person.

In the spring of the year 1784, I received an intimation from the administrator of the estate of one of my deceased creditors that a payment of what was due from me would be desirable. As I saw no prospect of receiving my money of the Parish, & was apprehensive that I had more difficulty still to go through to obtain the payment, & being loth to go to law with them, I proposed to my creditor to make over the Parish note to him, which proposal he accepted, & had the patience & politeness

to wait on the Parish *one whole year*, receiving verbal or written promises from time to time, & being as often disappointed, until, finding that there was no prospect of payment, the note was put in suit *in his name* in the spring of 1785, though by an agreement between him & me I was to have the whole management of the affair under cover of his name. This was done purely out of *delicacy*, that the Parish might not have the discredit of being sued by their minister; & had they taken care to pay the debt during the time that the suit was pending, it never would have been known that I had any concern in the process.

The suit was commenced at the Inferior Court in June, 1785, & by the appeal of the defendants carried to the Superior Court in September following, when judgment was given against the Parish for £85.10.5 damages, & £4.12 costs. Execution was issued, & though, as I have been informed, it might have been levied *on the estates of all the three men* who signed the note, yet it was actually levied *on the body of one of them only*.

As no care was taken by those now in office to free this man from the apprehension of imprisonment by discharging the debt, he became uneasy as the time approached for the return of the execution, which was the second week in April, 1786. About the middle of March I conversed with him, & found that it had been suggested to him that, if he would suffer himself to be imprisoned, the Parish Wardens would be his bondsmen for the liberty of the yard, & he might make his escape. The same information I also received from the High Sheriff, upon w^{ch} I wrote to the Parish Wardens as follows:—

“March 15, 1786.

“GENT^N, — You may remember the very great difficulty with which in the year 1782 I obtained of the parish a promissory note for the payment of the arrears of my salary occasioned by the depreciation of the paper currency. To satisfy the demand of a creditor I made over that note to him, who, after generously

waiting on you for a whole year, was obliged to put it in suit. Since which you have taken advantage of all the delay which the forms of law could allow, & by what I can learn no provision is yet made to satisfy the debt, but the execution has been levied on the body of an innocent man who happened to be in office when the note was given, & in a few weeks is to be imprisoned. Such an issue to this affair will be very far from satisfying my creditor, or answering the end proposed by me in making over the note to him. The character in which I reside among you obliges me to act with a peculiar delicacy, & to be very explicit with you on this occasion, & I now tell you that if it is intended that the person who is taken should be *actually* imprisoned, & kept from his family & business, my feelings will be greatly injured; but if only a *sham* imprisonment is intended, & the bondsmen for the liberty of the yard are to be responsible for the debt after another process, I shall conceive that I am grossly insulted. In either case, my comfort & usefulness will be much interrupted. To prevent as far as lies in my power these evils, I now make you this offer: that in case you will pay the law charges, I will do my utmost to prevail with my creditor to remit to you the whole debt, & will find some other way of satisfying his demand. I say nothing at present of other debts due to me from this parish, but I desire an answer to this request, whether you or the body you represent will accept this proposal or not before the next session of the Superior Court.

“J. B.”

This letter I suppose was the means of putting a stop to the intended sham imprisonment & escape, which if it had been put in execution would have reflected the highest disgrace on the Parish; but now the disgrace must rest only on the contrivers of it, & the Parish have reason to thank me for delivering them from the reproach that would otherwise have been cast upon them.

After this it was proposed to me to take *lumber* instead of cash for the discharge of the execution. This proposal was not made till about three weeks before the execution was returnable; but it was no sooner made than accepted, provided the lumber could be ready by the time, and

delivered at the market price. It must be observed here, that lumber was at this time very dull of sale, & there was plenty of it on the landing. Upon enquiry I found it would not be safe for me to allow more than thirty shillings per thousand. The Parish Wardens strove hard to persuade me to allow thirty-six shillings, & to renew the execution & wait till y^e next Term, which would be in September. Having taken advice of the most judicious merchants in Portsmouth I could not accede to the former, & having had so long experience of the dilatory & evasive proceedings of this people I could not agree to the latter, seeing I had waited already *four years*, & they had taken every advantage to delay payment, & Providence had now put it in my power to bring this long depending matter to an issue. Some efforts were made by the collectors to get lumber, & some was obtained; but it must be remembered that by this time another debt had accumulated, which had been due, some of it, more than a year. On the first day of the sitting of the Court in April, viz. Tuesday, the 18th, the High Sheriff sent for his prisoner & for me. On conference with them & the gentlemen of the law, I found that the days of the Court's sitting were days of grace, & consented that the prisoner should be at liberty till Friday. On this same day, Tuesday, I was told by two of the Wardens seperately that it would *be paid by Thursday*. On Thursday I enquired of the surveyor whom they had employed to receive the lumber, who informed me that he had only *fifteen thous^d*, which did not amount to *one third*. The same day the Parish had a meeting, & *two of these Wardens resigned their office*. On Friday the prisoner appeared to deliver himself up, & as I had previously given him my word that he should not go to prison, there was no way left to prevent it but by my signing a receipt on the back of the execution, & it was returned into Court *satisfied*, myself being responsible for the costs, which I have since

paid. Thus my interest was sacrificed to the cause of humanity.

Finding all my efforts to recover my due fruitless, having been treated in this evasive manner by a people who had laid themselves under obligations to make this payment with an express view to prevent my removal from them, which I had just reason for four or seven years before, I considered with astonishment & horror their cruel neglect, unpalliated by any pretence of misconduct on my part, I considered that to remain connected with them would be in a high degree dishonourable to me, & that I must become an object of contempt even in *their* eyes, I considered the contract between me & them as broken on their part by the most deliberate neglect & delinquency, & therefore determined to give it up on my part. Accordingly, on the Lord's day, April 30th, I delivered from the pulpit the following address:—

“It is now about four years since, with much difficulty, I obtained of this Parish a promissory note for the payment of the arrears due to me by the depreciation of the late paper currency. From the manner in w^{ch} the parish business was conducted, I was soon after led to conclude that this promise would not be performed without more difficulty. After repeated demands had been made & neglected, it was put in suit, & in a manner least liable to exception, not in my own name, but in the name of one of my creditors whose long forbearance deserved a better return. While the suit was depending, the Parish had the benefit of every delay which the forms of law could allow, & I suppose no body will doubt their ability to have satisfied the demand long ago. But instead of receiving any satisfaction, I have had the mortification to find that my endeavours were obstructed, and the interest of the Parish was considered as a thing distinct from that of the minister. After waiting the tedious process, after making every concession that was at all likely to facilitate the payment, & extending the time to the last extremity, no alternative was left me but to see an innocent man imprisoned or give up the debt. I chose the latter, & *I glory in the choice.*”

“I know there is a number of persons here who have readily paid their full proportion of all the taxes that have been made, & who are always willing to do their part toward the support of the Gospel ministry. Had the Parish consisted wholly of this sort of persons, I should not have been reduced to this extremity. The law indeed authorises the use of force to compel those who are delinquent to do their duty, but the execution of such laws tends to defeat the design for which the Gospel is preached, to promote discord, hatred, & envy, instead of love, peace, & goodwill, & to involve a minister in distress & perplexity, if he has any feeling. I am in principle opposed to the use of compulsion for ministerial taxes, & what experience the past scene afforded has so confirmed me against it that I had rather sacrifice my connexion with the Parish than continue it by such means.

“The late issue of my attempt to recover my just due did not come unexpected. I had long foreseen it & was not at all disappointed. It cannot therefore be thought that what I am now going to say is the effect of any hasty resolution. It is the result of much patient & prayerful deliberation.

“To prevent any future difficulties of the like kind, relying on the protection & blessing of a kind Providence, & trusting that I am in the way of my duty, I do now seriously & deliberately resign, release, & quitclaim to the First Parish in Dover all right & title to any salary which might after this day become due to me by virtue of any contract heretofore made between me & them, or any engagement from them to me. I would be understood to do this in so full & explicit a manner as that neither myself, my heirs, nor any person claiming from, by, or under me shall be able to recover any such salary as might otherwise become due after this day; and if it be necessary that I should subscribe any instrument whereby this resignation can be made more solemn and authentic, I am ready to do it.

“The consequence of this will be that in future my connexion with this parish will be altogether voluntary, & may be dissolved at the pleasure of either party, or if continued will be upon a different footing from what it has been heretofore.”

Having come to this important stage in my affairs, I would make some remarks. Had I been influenced solely

by a regard to my own interest, & not by a tenderness for my people, at least for some worthy characters among them, my conduct would have been in some respects widely different. It was from a benevolent regard to them, that, when driven to the necessity of going to law, I did not commence the suit in my own name, but at the same time kept the management of the affair in my own hands, making myself liable to pay the costs. The same motive operated in my persuading the person on whom the execution was levied to abandon the *wicked plot* which was contrived to evade the law; had this been executed, I might have had the fairest plea for a full & absolute resignation of my office, & might have recovered larger damages in a new action. The same principle urged me to accept at once the proposal which was made of receiving lumber instead of cash. Had this been fairly & honestly attended to in the proper season the difficulty might have been stopt, but it was so managed as to oblige me to give up the debt. When I gave up my salary, had I regarded only my own interest, I should have made the resignation of my office absolute & without reserve, & have taken my final leave of them at that time; but I knew how harsh it would sound in the ears of some valuable persons, & how sorely it would grieve their hearts if I did not leave open a door of hope for them, tho' it has since proved an occasion of perplexity & misery to myself. This seeming irresolution on my part may to some people appear to have proceeded from motives of pusillanimity, but I seriously declare that it has proceeded from a tenderness of conscience & a regard to those whom I deemed the friends of religion, of whom I wish I could think the number was greater.

After the resignation, on the 30th of April, I was absent for a month, during which time the Parish met & passed the following votes, viz.: "May 22^d, That the Parish

Wardens be & hereby are authorised & impowered to raise money *in the best manner they can*, & therewith discharge the execution of Col. Waters against the Parish in as speedy a manner as may be, the Rev^d M^r Belknap's receipt thereon & discharge of the same notwithstanding"; & on the 5th of June they "Voted, that a committee be chosen to converse with the Rev^d M^r Belknap relative to the difficulties subsisting between him & the Parish, & that they make report at the adjournment." By my desire, this conference was in writing, as follows:—

"SIR, — The committee appointed by the Parish at their late meeting to converse with you on the subject named in their vote, acknowledge the communication of a letter addressed to M^r Cooper pointing out a mode of conference different from the one expected, to which, however, the committee have not an objection; only wishing that the good intention of their appointment may have the merited success. As the first & indeed the only proper step to be taken on the part of the committee, they are very desirous of being informed by M^r Belknap whether he really conceives the contract between him & the Parish is dissolved, & if that be his opinion, whether he will enter into a new one, provided suitable provision be made by the Parish for a future handsome support." June 15,
1786.

To w^{ch} I answered:—

"GENT^l, — In my address to the Parish on the 30th of April last, I gave it as my opinion that the consequence of the resignation of my claim to any future salary would be that my connexion with them might be dissolved at the pleasure of either party. As you now desire to know whether I conceive that it is dissolved, I answer that I do, & I desire to know in my turn whether you have any doubt on the subject? If you have, please to state the ground of your doubt & let me have it as soon as you can; but if I receive no communication from you, I shall conclude you have none, & shall answer your other question with my reasons at large, so as you may have them by Saturday next, in order to frame your report on Monday."

They replied as follows : —

“SIR, — The committee, in reply to M^r Belknap’s answer, beg leave to assure him that they have no doubts remaining on their minds respecting the present validity of the contract between him & the Parish, being fully convinced from reason that a contract entered by the joint consent of two parties cannot legally be dissolved but by their mutual consent & approbation, or by some jurisdiction competent for the purpose.”

To this I rejoined thus : —

“The reply made by the committee to my answer to their first question removes the ground of their second ; for if the old contract still remains in force, there can be no reason for ‘entering into a new one.’ My opinion, however, remains unchanged, because *my* reason teaches me that a contract unperformed on one part & given up on the other is really dissolved. However, that nothing may be wanting to make the dissolution complete, I have this day handed to the Wardens a request which will supersede any farther conference on this point.”

The request was as follows : —

“GENT^l, — There being a difference in opinion between the Parish committee & me relative to the present subsistence of the contract on w^{ch} my ministerial relation to this Parish was founded, as will appear by their report to be made at your adjourned meeting next Monday, & I being desirous to avoid all prolixity & controversy, & to bring the matter to a speedy issue, do request you to notify a meeting of the Parish to be held as soon as law & custom will allow, that they may on their part by an explicit & formal act, in compliance with *my desire*, which I apprehend will be a sufficient reason therefor, dissolve the contract which is now supposed to subsist, or join with me in chusing and calling an Ecclesiastical Council, to whom the question concerning the validity of the contract or the propriety of dissolving it may be submitted for their opinion & advice.”

June 16.

In consequence of this request, a Parish meeting was held on the 3^d of July, & the following was handed to me as the result of it, viz. : —

“ After debating the matter whereon the meeting was founded, it was moved & seconded whether the Parish would comply with the request of M^r Belknap, which passed in the negative. Then moved & seconded to dissolve the meeting, which passed into a vote, & it was dissolved accordingly.”

The same week, I received an invitation to preach at the Second Parish in Exeter, which I declined accepting at this time.

On the next Sabbath, viz. July 9, I requested the Church to meet on the next Tuesday to vote me a dismission from my pastoral relation to them. They met, & after hearing my request gave me the following answer in writing, viz. : —

“ We are of opinion that we ought not to grant his request without first *consulting the Parish*, because they had a voice in calling & settling him, & we will endeavour to have a Parish meeting called as soon as may be, & will use our influence with the Parish, either to grant M^r Belknap a release from the contract, or to join in a mutual C^ouncil for advice, &c.”

July 11.

The next week I laid the whole affair before the Association of Ministers of which I am a member, who advised me to wait over two Sabbaths, & if nothing decisive should be done by that time, to withdraw my ministrations from this people, & accept an invitation elsewhere if any such should be given me.

The Church had now, in consequence of their promise, procured the appointment of another Parish meeting, to be held on Thursday, July 27, the design of which, according to their answer to me, was to dissolve the contract, or join with me in a mutual Council. No effort had as yet been made to procure the money to pay what was due to me on y^e execution or the other account, & it had been supposed & taken for granted that no money could be raised, nor even a tax laid for this present year, because I had given up my salary. But all at once, by the sugges-

tion of some person not belonging to the town, a question was proposed to me, What if we should *pay* you these debts, will you stay with us? My answer was to this purpose: that the payment of these debts ought to have been the preface to every other transaction; that in case of payment I should deal as well by them as they had done by me; & should do whatever should appear to be my duty. It was now found that a rate *could* be made; it *was* made, & about £18 collected, which I received on Saturday, July 22^d, as part, & took a note for £16 more which when paid will be in full of the arrears of my salary to the 30th of April last. At the same time the Wardens declared to me the impossibility of their getting the money to pay y^e execution, and said, "If that was necessary, we must part." I now gave it up in my own mind as desperate. Nevertheless, on the next Wednesday, I was informed that a considerable part of that sum had been borrowed & was ready for me. I answered, that as the matter had gone so far, & a meeting was to be held the next day, I chose the money should remain in their hands till the old contract was dissolved, & till I could determine whether to make a new one or not. The next day, viz. Sep^r 27, the following vote was passed, viz. :—

"In compliance with the desire of the Rev^d M^r Belknap, voted that the contract between him & the First Parish in Dover be dissolved.

"Attest,

NATH^l COOPER, *Clerk.*"

They now expected *me* to make a proposal to them for a new contract. This was an event for which I was by no means prepared, if I had thought it proper, as the notice of the money being obtained was given me but the day before, previous to which my mind had been turned the other way by the information given me on the preceeding Saturday. But I tho't it not at all proper that

a proposal should be expected of me; it ought rather to come from them. Besides, I foresaw a very great difficulty attending the making a contract, such an one as would remedy the inconveniencies which I had experienced under the former. This difficulty appeared so great, considering my own scruples & their usual mode of conduct, that I conceived it a thing impracticable. To contract with the Parish at large, as before, I could not; how to make a distinction between those with whom I was willing to contract & the others, I knew not; whether the former would be willing a line should be drawn was very uncertain. Besides, I considered this *borrowing* of the money as not freeing *them* from the debt, nor me from the inconvenience of their being indebted to others as well as myself; because they would have to pay this money out of what would be raised for my support, & then would fall short in their future payments to me, & thus reduce me to the very situation out of which it was the professed design of this movement to extricate me. I had had experience of this kind before, by their taking the money that was raised & collected expressly for *me* to pay an execution which the heirs of my predecessor had recovered against them, & as they were now so far behind in the collection of their resources This was 15 years after his death. I knew it would be hard fetching it up, & I must suffer by it. Under the influence of these & other considerations, I wrote them the following letter, viz^t: —

“GENT”, — You have been desirous to know my mind with regard to the continuance of my ministry among you, & I did not think it proper to say anything explicitly to you on the subject till you had on your part acknowledged the dissolution of the contract which I had given up. By doing this, you have put yourselves on a level with me. You are a vacant parish, & I am a candidate for the ministry. I shall now give you my sentiments freely.

“The time has been when I preferred this Parish to many of those which I was acquainted with, as I had reason to think the

people were united in their affection to me, & supported me cheerfully, & my ministry was generally useful & acceptable to them. For some years past I have had reason to believe that my support has been a *burden* to many, & I cannot but perceive that my ministry is *neglected more & more* by a great part of those who have been bound to support me. This affords a very discouraging prospect.

“Had there been that affection for me among the people in general which I have been told so much of, I cannot imagine that the payment of this debt would have been so long neglected, & that you would have driven me to the necessity of putting your note in suit, & then delayed satisfying it until, to prevent the imprisonment of an innocent man, I was obliged to give up my demand & seek a separation as my only remedy. It now fully appears that it was not for want of *ability* in the Parish that this money was not paid before. If an affection for *me* is the reason that a considerable part of it is now obtained, why could not that principle have operated sooner, & *prevented* the miseries to which I have been reduced, & which have been as great as if you had had *no* affection for me? To make me suffer all the inconveniencies & distresses which can arise from the failure of affection before your affection can shew itself, to reduce me to the *last extremity* before you will lend an helping hand to deliver me, is such a way of shewing love as I wish never to experience again. You cannot but think that treatment of this kind, which both you & I know to be *undeserved* on my part, must have altered my mind & destroyed that *preference* which I once had for this people. Many other circumstances have concurred to the same purpose, & I must now say that, considering all things together, I see no reason to think it my duty to enter into any new engagement with *this Parish in preference to any other*.

“My objection is not founded merely on the non-payment for so long a time of the debt which you acknowledged to be justly due to me, but also on the practice of obliging *all persons* who are not of some other religious persuasion to contribute toward the support of your minister, by which means, instead of depending on the voluntary exertions of the friends of religion & good order, he is thrown into the hands of unprincipled, profane, & vicious people, who, having no religion themselves, feel no obligation or desire to assist or relieve him, but think

their parish tax a burden, & account the minister their enemy & load him with reproaches for receiving it of them. To be *obliged* to maintain a connection with such people as these is to me the vilest *slavery*, & being once free from it I am determined not to submit to it again.

“I have other objections, but it would be needless to mention them, as I am persuaded it is not in your power to remove them. However, considering the exertions which *some* of you have made, you have in some measure retrieved your character as a parish, & you will have no reason to repent of making them, as it may facilitate the settlement of a minister among you, & I think it very probable that you may get one whose talents will be more popular, & whose scruples & difficulties will not be so great as mine. If you chuse to seek for one, I will lend you any assistance in my power, & do now freely give you what money has been collected toward paying the execution to help forward the settlement of one among you.

“At the same time, I acknowledge there are *some persons* among you whom I value & respect & *from whom I should not wish to be separated*, if they were not by the constitution of the Parish blended with a number of others with whom I cannot have any connection. *To break up the Parish is not my wish.* It is my advice to you to take proper measures to provide yourselves a minister, & to make some provision for a temporary supply till you can obtain one.”

One design of this letter was to let the Parish know that I did not wish to force myself upon them, but to give them their choice to get another minister, & had they signified to me that this was their wish I should have complied with the offer I made them; another design was to draw from those who had professed a friendship for me some proposal toward a re-settlement if they were so disposed. One or other of these consequences I expected, but was disappointed in both; for they neither made any proposal nor accepted my offer, but passed a vote which I never saw, but which I understood was to be tacked as an appendix to the vote of dissolving the contract, to this purpose, viz.: “that if I went away I

should refund the sum of £150, which I received of the Parish at my first settlement."

The next morning I was called upon privately to explain the latter part of my letter, which I did before I knew of this last vote. After some conference, I consented to receive a letter of acknowledgment, which the next day was presented to me, & is as follows, viz^t: —

"SIR, — We are sorry that matters have been so managed as that the payment of the debt long due has been delayed so long as to reduce you to the necessity of asking a dismission as your only remedy. We regret that your letter of yesterday addressed to the Parish was by some of us misconstrued, & that an *hasty vote* was passed in consequence of it, which we wish may not operate to our disadvantage, & will endeavour to have destroyed without being recorded. We wish you to consider us as well affected to you, & wish your ministry may be continued among us, provided you can be content to tarry with us on reasonable terms, and we will endeavour to form a plan which shall free you from the difficulties you complain of, & which shall be effectual for your future support.

[Signed by 32 names.]

"July 28, 1786."

To w^{ch} I gave the following answer, viz.: —

"Having seen a number of respectable names subscribed to the paper which D^r Green now has, signifying their sorrow for the long delay of the payment of my due, & understanding by several persons that what I wrote to the Parish was not deemed sufficiently explicit, I now say in explanation & addition: —

"That what I said respecting my regard to a number of people in this parish was, in my opinion, a sufficient ground for those who were desirous of my continuance to step forward & make proposals to me; & this I thought might have been the consequence, if they could think it proper for them so to do without breaking up the Parish. I was in doubt whether they could think so or not, & left them to determine. Such was my idea, but I had the misfortune to be misunderstood.

"It is not my wish to take any advantage of the infirmities

of my neighbours. ‘I myself also am a man of like passions with themselves.’ I wish to forgive all the injurious treatment I have received, & desire no more persons to sign the above paper, unless they chuse to do it as an introduction to an accommodation. As a farther inducement to which, I now say that though I look upon myself as disengaged from this Parish, & have had & might have invitations to others, yet if the Parish chuse to call another meeting & *retract what they last voted*, & if those who are desirous of my continuance will make offers of a re-settlement to me on such terms as shall be mutually agreed on, I will keep myself disengaged till *the first week in September* next, & will in the mean time coöperate with them in such measures as shall be to our mutual advantage.

“But at the same time I must add, that if a majority of the Parish at another meeting choose to adhere to the vote last past in preference to accepting the condescension which I now offer, I will comply with the conditions therein mentioned, July 29.
& quit them wholly.”

The same day I received another invitation from the Second Parish in Exeter, w^{ch} I declined accepting on account of the prospect which appeared of an accommodation here.

In a few days after, I drew up the following paper by desire of the Parish Wardens & some others, w^h I delivered to them that they might make what use they tho’t proper of it:—

“*Sketch of the Difficulties w^{ch} subsisted under the former Contract, & Remedies proposed.*

“1st *Difficulty.* The obliging all persons within the limits of the town to pay toward the support of the minister unless there was evidence of their being of another religious denomination different from the majority, & some of them scarcely able to pay their taxes.

“*Remedy.* That none but those who *voluntarily engage* be held bound for the minister’s support, & they to consider themselves as bound to him *jointly*, & to each other *severally*, for that purpose.

“That additions be made to the original number, from time

to time, of such persons as desire to enter their names, & none else.

“That if the minister shall at any time give in to the officers of the society a sealed paper, containing the name of any person whom he may wish to have left out of the tax, it shall be done, & no reasons demanded of him.

“That no person be a voter, in any matter relating to the minister, who does not pay a tax at the time the meeting is held.

“That every one be taxed in proportion to his rateable estate as in the inventory.

“That when any person belonging to the society shall de-cease, the estate of the deceased shall continue bound as long as it shall remain undivided; & after division the estate be-longing to the heirs, being minors, shall continue bound as before till they shall come of age.

“For the regular forming these voluntary contractors into a society, an act of incorporation *may* be necessary. This re-mains to be considered. Perhaps bonds may be sufficient.

“*2^d Difficulty.* The great inattention of the people in gen-eral, & sometimes of those who ought by their characters & interest to have most influence in parochial affairs, whereby it has happened that improper persons have been chosen to offices of trust, which offices it equally concerns ministers & people to have filled only with proper persons.

“*Remedy.* That no person be chosen to any office, whether warden or collector, or by whatever other name called, without the consent of the minister. Perhaps a nomination list, pre-pared beforehand by him & the officers of the former year, may be a good expedient to prevent undue elections.

“*3^d Difficulty.* The want of punctuality in the payment of the minister’s salary, & an apprehension generally prevailing that any *kind* of pay, at any *time* & any *price*, would be sufficient.

“*Remedy.* That the sum of £—— be allowed the min-ister for every year, to be paid in gold coin at £5.6.8 p^r oz., or in silver at 6/8 per oz., & in no other species of pay whatever.

“That a weekly contribution be established on the Lord’s day, every person who pays a tax to mark his name on a paper inclosing his money, for which he shall have credit given him

by the person through whose hands it shall pass to the minister. All unmarked money to be considered as a free gift to y^e minister.

“That a complete settlement & payment be made at the end of every *six months*, to begin the — day of — next, & all arrears previously due to be fully paid before the contract shall take place.

“4th *Difficulty*. The fluctuating & uncertain value of paper money when made y^e medium of trade by law.

“*Remedy*. If paper or any other material be by the government substituted in the room of gold & silver, & made a legal tender in discharge of debts, the minister shall not be obliged to receive it at all without his own consent; or if he consent to receive it, it shall be paid only according to its *real*, not *nominal* value; and this real value shall be estimated every six months, or oftener if need be, by himself, in conjunction with the officers of the society, or by an appeal to arbitrators mutually chosen.

“5th *Difficulty*. The frequent uncertainty attending the procurement of *wood & pasturing*.

“*Remedy*. That — cords of wood, such as is commonly called hard wood, be provided by the society, & delivered to the minister cut & measured according to law, one half before the 20th of December, & y^e other half before the 20th of March annually.

“That if the society have the disposal of the parsonage lands, their officers for the time being shall be impowered, when opportunity offers, to exchange them for some lot more conveniently situated, & shall in conjunction with the minister petition the Gen^l Court, if need be, for liberty so to do; & that the said new lot, when obtained, shall be fenced, & the fences kept in repair at the expence of the society.

“Until this can be done, convenient pasturing for one horse & one cow to be provided by the officers of y^e society, & the minister to allow — for one horse, and — for one cow out of his salary. This, however, to be done only when he shall desire it, & then to his satisfaction.

“6th *Difficulty*. An uneasiness among some of the people at the absence of the minister when abroad.

“*Remedy*. That the minister shall have liberty to be absent four Sabbaths in every year, without providing a supply for

the pulpit or making any allowance; & if he be absent more than these without providing a supply, he shall allow — p^r Sabbath.

“7th *Difficulty*. An apprehension prevailing among many people that the contract between a minister & people is like the marriage covenant, binding for life, & consequently a very great difficulty attending the dissolution of it; there being no method established by law, & Ecclesiastical Councils being deemed only advisory, & not having any decisive power, & mutual consent not being always readily obtained. It is therefore necessary that some provision be made in the contract for its continuance or dissolution.

“*Remedy*. That whenever either of the contracting parties shall desire the contract may be dissolved, the other party shall consent to its dissolution, which shall take place at the expiration of three months from the first notice given. Provided, that in the mean time, if either party shall desire a Council to hear & consider the reasons which are or may be alledged for the dissolution, & give their advice, the other party shall consent, & shall join in the choice of said Council; & that by advice of said Council & the mutual consent of the parties, or by their mutual consent without such advice, the term of notice for the seperation may be lengthned or shortned. Provided, also, that if the contract shall continue in force till such time as the minister shall by age or infirmity become incapable of attending his ministerial duty, or any part thereof, no advantage shall be taken of this or of any other article or clause in the contract to deprive him of any part of the support herein stipulated, or to alter the mode & season of its payment & delivery; but the same shall be regularly paid & delivered to him during his life, & what may be due at the time of his decease shall be paid to his lawful heirs.”

To procure another meeting, the following petition was handed to the Wardens: —

“GENTⁿ, — We are very uneasy on account of the unsettled state of our Parish affairs; but at the same time cannot but hope that, were the people of this Parish acquainted with the *advances* which the Rev^d M^r Belknap has made towards an accommodation, they would not long remain so. For that

purpose, & that of *retracting* the last vote passed at the last meeting, we wish they may be collected together as soon as law & custom will permit, & are, Gentⁿ, &c.

[Signed by 11 names.]

“DOVER, Aug^t 4, 1786.

“N. B. The vote referred to in this petition, which was passed at the last meeting, I am desired to obliterate & not enter into the records.

“N. COOPER.”

In answer to the above, the following notification appeared, viz^t: —

“In compliance with the above request, & that all who wish an accommodation with the Rev^d M^r Belknap, or feel themselves interested in his re-settlement, may have an opportunity to join in making proposals necessary for so desirable an end, —

“This is to give notice that there will be a meeting of the parishioners of the First Parish in Dover, at their meeting house, on Monday, the 14th day of August inst., at 2 a clock, P. M., to pass all such votes relative to the premises which the convened may think proper, & also to see if the Parish will *retract* the last vote passed at their last meeting.

“Should no proposals be agreed on, then to see if the convened will vote a temporary supply of the pulpit, & make provision therefor, &c.

“Aug^t 6, 1786.”

At this meeting I attended, & insisted on the retracting the obnoxious vote as a necessary preliminary to my receiving any proposals. Accordingly, it was retracted, *nemine contradicente*; & I then asked whether they were content that *everything* which had passed between us since the vote of dissolution on the 27th of July should *stand for nothing*, to which there was a general answer, “Yes! yes!” Then the following proposal was handed to me, w^{ch} I received & desired time to consider, & the meeting was adjourned. The same evening the Parish Wardens, of their own motion & without my

Aug. 14.

asking, brought to my house the money which had been borrowed, & paid me the sum of £83.5.4, for which I gave them a receipt on account, & in part of an execution which had been recovered against the Parish by Col. Josiah Waters, & which the s^d Parish had voted to pay on the 22^d of May last. Of this execution there remains £6.17.1 unpaid, besides 11 months interest.*

Sketch of the Plan proposed to me by the Parish. The original is said to be mislaid, & I neglected to take a copy while in my hands.

That £100 be the yearly salary, & 20 cords of wood provided by or before the month of March annually.

That pasturing be provided as desired.

Leave for four Sabbaths absence; any more to be allowed for.

That no paper money be forced upon me; but if paid, to be at the real, not nominal value, to be ascertained as in my sketch.

That what I proposed about the parsonage be complied with.

That every year 20 days notice be given for all who are *unable or unwilling* to pay toward y^e support of the minister to give in their names, & they to be excused for *that year*.

That this contract take place y^e 20th of *March next*, & that all arrears previously due be paid before that time.

That in case either party shall desire a dissolution of the contract, it shall be left to a Council, whose decision shall be *binding*.

That in case of age or infirmity in the minister, his salary be continued during life.

* The preceding part of this narrative covers nearly fifty-five quarto pages of manuscript; and beginning at this point Dr. Belknap left a little less than seven pages blank, apparently for a continuation which was never prepared. The portion which follows was probably written after his removal to Boston. — Eds.

*My Answer to the Proposals of the Parish, Aug. 25, 1786,
& Alterations proposed.*

“That the sum of £100 proposed as a salary be understood to be in silver & gold, as they are now established by law, viz. silver at 6/8, & gold at £5.6.8 p^r oz.

“That of the 20 cords of wood, six cords be delivered by the 20th of Dec^r, the rest before the 20th of March annually, & that in case of any deficiency in the quantity delivered, it be made good by the payment of the value thereof in cash, according to the current price of wood in y^e preceeding winter.

“That the allowance for any number of Sabbaths above four, in case of absence, be 30 / each.

“That there be public notice given by an advertisement every year when the 20 days are to begin & end in w^{ch} persons may have liberty to enter their names, in order to be exempted from paying toward the support of the minister.

“That whenever either of the contracting parties shall desire a dissolution of the contract, the reasons for said desire shall be delivered to the other party, & the contract shall be dissolved at the expiration of three months from the time of signifying such desire. Provided that either party may in the mean time propose the calling an Ecclesiastical Council, to whom the reasons alledged for the dissolution may be submitted for their opinion & advice, & the other party shall consent to it & join in the calling of the said Council. Provided also, that all pecuniary claims on either side in case of a dissolution shall be submitted to arbitrators mutually chosen, & each party shall be bound in sufficient penalties to abide by their decision as final. But that if this contract shall continue in force, &c., — as provided.

“The time when this contract is proposed to begin is the 20th of March next, on which I would make the fol-

lowing queries. Whether it is not best to ascertain *as early as possible* the number of those who intend to join in supporting the Gospel ministry, & whether this cannot be done by giving *seven* days notice *now* for those who are disposed to withdraw their names from the list already made and partly collected, & if any of those who *have* paid should withdraw, that they be *repaid*? Whether the putting off the contract to March will not subject the parish to all the inconveniencies of an unsettled state, as they have no promise from me of continuing with them beyond *the first week in September*? Should the time of beginning the contract be altered to *the 4th of September*, & the alterations which are above proposed be adopted by the Parish, I have no objection to any other part of the proposed contract, & shall be ready to conclude & execute it on my part, as I expect it will be on the part of the Parish, as soon as it can be determined whether there is a sufficient number of persons who are willing to contribute toward the support of the Gospel, & stand by one another for that purpose.

“ Augt. 25, 1786.”

I was present at their next meeting, on the 28 of Aug^t, & by their desire consented to wait till *the 11th of Sep^r*, & it was mutually agreed that an advertisement should be posted desiring all who were unwilling to adopt the new plan to give in their names by that time.

Fifteen names appeared in opposition to it by y^e 11th of Sep^r, many others were indifferent, and those who appeared most zealous for it at first were discouraged, & I was told that it was in vain to keep myself in suspence any longer, as there was no prospect of its ever being heartily adopted.

Therefore on the 15th of September I addressed the following to the Parish Wardens, viz^t:—

“GEN^r, — After the Parish had on the 27th of July last acknowledged the dissolution of the contract between me & them, I did at the earnest request of a number of them consent to enter into a negociation for forming another, & engaged to wait till the first week in Sep^r for the completion of it, & afterward by desire of the Parish consented to extend the time to the 11th of Sep^r. I have on my part fully complied with their desire & my engagement. I have endeavoured faithfully & unreservedly to form such a contract as in my opinion would have remedied all the inconveniencies to which the former was subject, & have waited the full extent of the time limited. But as the Parish have neither completed the contract on their part, nor fulfilled the condition on which it was to take place, nor entered into any further consultation with me on the subject, & as moreover there appears to me no prospect of any effectual union among them, but the contrary, I am therefore constrained to tell you that since Monday, the 11th of this instant September, I look upon myself as entirely free from all engagements to them & must act accordingly. Wishing they may have a true sense of their own interest & steadily & unitedly pursue it, & that the Divine blessing may rest upon them, I am, &c.

“P. S. To go through the operation of taking a public solemn leave of them is *more than I can bear*. My friends therefore must excuse it. I wish the people may have seasonable notice not to come together to-morrow.”

The reasons of my not consenting to put off the contract to March were: that I could see no ground to hope that it would be any more generally adopted then than now; that it would *oblige* me to live another half-year in an unsettled state, & I had already spent 4 months in this way without any promise of recompence; that if it were to be considered that I had remained hitherto & was still to remain till March upon the *old plan*, I must be looked upon as having *falsified my word*; that 15 had already appeared against the plan, & some of them men of influence; & that, as there appeared to me & to others no prospect of its being established, the sooner it was ended the better both for them & me.

On y^e 25th of September y^e Parish chose a committee who were “in conjunction with me to make choice of indifferent persons out of town to adjust all accounts and demands *from my settlement* until the 11th of this month.”

When y^e committee came to me, I told them that all accounts had been settled to y^e 30th of April last, & as to what was due to me besides I could settle it with the Parish Wardens in half an hour; therefore I saw no reason for indifferent persons to interpose in the matter; but that if they were desirous of having an Ecclesiastical Council to review y^e whole proceedings, I had no objection. This they declined, & desired me to send in an account of y^e whole of what was due to me, which I did on y^e 2^d of October, as follows:—

A note on interest from the Parish Wardens, July 22, 1786,	£16. 1.2½
A note on interest from the Parish Wardens to John Kielle, dated July 26, 1786, & endorsed to me,*	45.—.—
For my services as a minister from y ^e 1 st of May to y ^e 11 th Sep ^r , deducting 31 days absence, 110 days at 6/ per day,	33.—.—
Due in part of y ^e execution issued Sep., 1785, viz:—	
Damages	£85.10.5
Costs	4.12.
	<u>90. 2.5</u>
Paid Aug ^t 14	83. 5.4
	<u>6.17.1</u>
11 months interest of £85.10.5	6.17.1
	<u>4.14.—</u>
	£105.12.3½

Oct. 23, they voted “that *no payment* be made to M^r Belknap of his demands on y^e Parish exhibited by him Oct. 2, until a final settlement be made between him & y^e Parish.”

Of this I took no notice, and on y^e 6th of Nov^r following they passed another vote, viz^t:—

“That it is *the opinion* of the Parish that the Rev^d M^r Belknap *ought to refund* to them £90 out of his demands

* N. B. After I found that it was impracticable for me to continue with y^e people, I returned £45 of y^e money y^t was paid me on y^e 14 Aug^t to John Kielle, of whom it was borrowed, & took an endorsement of y^e note which y^e Parish Wardens had given him. —
Note by Dr. Belknap.

on them as per his acc^o presented Oct. 2, & if agreed to, then the Wardens are impowered & authorized to pay him the balance as soon as may be."

Being absent, I did not hear of this last vote till some time in January, 1787.

In February I went to Dover & had a conference with the Parish Wardens, in w^h I told them that I utterly denied the claim which the Parish had made of £90; that it was not *due* to them by any rule of reason nor of law. But that in consideration of the profession w^h I had made on y^e 30th of April last of my determination not to receive anything of them which should become due after that day by virtue of a former contract, or that could not be drawn from them but by force of law, if they would freely and quietly pay y^e £16 note which was due before y^e resignation of my salary, & y^e £4.12 costs of suit which I had advanced, I would make them a present of y^e ballance, amounting to £84.19; on this condition, however, that they should under their hands acknowledge that they received it of me as a *free gift*. After some hesitation they complied, & y^e following receipts were exchanged, viz^t:—

"DOVER, Feby 9, 1787.

"This day I have rec^d of the Parish Wardens a note of hand for £4.12, the costs recovered in y^e late suit & charged in the within acco^t, w^{ch}, together with the note on interest for £16.1.2½ when paid, will be in full of all demands on s^d Wardens or Parish. The remainder of the within acc^o, amounting to 84.19.—¾, I *freely give* them as an evidence of the sincerity of my professions expressed in my public address of the 30th of April last.

"JEREMY BELKNAP."

"DOVER, Feby 9, 1787.

"We the subscribers, Wardens of the First Parish in Dover, do acknowledge the receipt of £84.19.—¾ of the Rev^d M^r Belknep, as a *free gift* to s^d Parish.

"EZRA GREEN.
BENJA TITCOMB.
EBEN^a TEBBETTS."

To the honor of Dr Ezra Green I mention it, y^t he returned me four dollars as *his* part of y^e s^d £84.19.—which he thought the Parish ought not to have taken from me. I believe some others are of y^e same mind, tho' they have not expressed it in the same manner.

After this settlement I rec^d the following from the Church.

“At a meeting of y^e brethⁿ of the Chh. of Christ in Dover on Thursday, March 8, 1787, voted, Deacⁿ Kimbal, Moderator. Voted, that y^e pastoral relation betwixt the Rev^d J. Belknap & this Chh. be at his request dissolved, & we do furthermore certify that while he was our minister his moral & ministerial character stood fair, & we do freely recommend him to the communion of the churches, or any particular church where he may in the course of Providence be called.

“EPH^m KIMBAL, *in behalf of y^e Church.*”

TESTIMONIAL FROM THE ASSOCIATION OF MINISTERS.*

THESE may certify whom it may concern that the Rev^d Mr Jeremy Belknap, late minister of Dover, & one of our Association, has been dismissed from his Parish by mutual consent, & is now preaching as a candidate. We take this opportunity cheerfully to testify to the goodness of his moral & ministerial character, & as cheerfully recommend

* This Testimonial, and the vote of the Dover Church printed above, were read to the Council convened April 4, 1787, for the instalment of Mr. Belknap in Boston, and are entered on the records of the Church in Long Lane. The record then proceeds: “The Council being thus satisfied, voted to proceed to the instalment, which was performed in the meetinghouse in the following manner. The Rev^d Mr Eckley began the solemnity with prayer. The Rev^d Mr Macclintock preached a S-rrmon well adapted to the occasion, from Acts 2. 22. The Rev^d Dr Lathrop prayed before the Charge. The Rev^d Mr Jackson gave the Charge. The Rev^d Mr Eliot prayed after the Charge, & the Rev^d Mr Thacher gave the Right Hand of Fellowship, by which token not only the pastor was acknowledged as a brother, but the church was received into the communion of the Congregational churches.” — Eds.

him to the service of the churches wherever God in his providence may call him.

JOSEPH BUCKMINSTER.	BENJ ^A STEVENS.
JOSEPH HAVEN.	SAM ^L HAVEN.
JOSEPH LITCHFIELD.	ISAAC LYMAN.
JAMES MILTIMORE.	SAM ^L MACCLINTOCK.
	MATTHEW MERRIAM.
	BENJAMIN BALCH.
	JOHN TOMPSON.
	ALPHEUS SPRING.

KITTERY, Oct. 11, 1786.

FORM OF ADMISSION TO THE CHURCH IN BOSTON.*

Do you now, in the presence of God and his people, solemnly profess your faith in the only true God, and in Jesus Christ whom he hath sent? Do you, according to the new & everlasting covenant, take God for your God, & give yourself to him as one of his people, to love him and serve him in holiness & righteousness all the days of your life?

Do you believe in Jesus Christ as the Mediator of this covenant, & hope for redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of your sins, according to the riches of Divine grace? Do you promise to deny yourself, to take up the cross & follow Christ? to observe all things which he hath commanded, to continue in his word, in the doctrine and fellowship of his Church, and in the breaking of bread, according to his command, Do this in remembrance of me?

* This form of admission to the church is in the handwriting of Dr. Belknap, and was probably drawn up by him. We have not been able to ascertain when it was first used; but it appears from the manuscript records of the Church that at a church meeting held April 17, 1787, at the house of Deacon William McNeil, it was voted, among other things, "That new members be propounded previous to their admission, & when admitted that they publicly own the covenant, at the Lord's table, all the other members standing & joining therein." It was also voted, "That the Deacons assist the Minister in the government of the Church, & in preparing matters to be laid before the Brethren." At the same meeting, "It was proposed that a chapter in the Bible be read at the time of public worship, & no objection was made to it." — EDS.

Though sensible of your own insufficiency for these things, do you believe that his grace is sufficient for you, & desire that his strength may be made perfect in your weakness; and that God by his Holy Spirit would sanctify, guide, & comfort you till he shall receive you to himself in glory?

Is this your profession and hope?

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

PHILADELPHIA, January 8th, 1788.

DEAR SIR, — Accept of my thanks for your polite and friendly letter. I am no stranger to your name, nor to your worthy character, and shall be very happy in cultivating a correspondence with you. Who knows how much good may be done by the *union* of the friends of order & humanity in every part of the world? However much they may be scattered over the surface of the globe, they are all members of one great republic.

At the request of our mutual friend, Dr Clarkson, I enclose you a copy of the first acc^t of the Pennsylvania Hospital. From the reduction of its funds by the late war, its usefulness is of late much circumscribed; but the inconveniences arising from this circumstance have been in a great degree remedied by the establishment of a Dispensary in our city. Upwards of 1,500 patients have been relieved by it in the course of the last year, and at the moderate expence of about £500. Thus have we applied the principles of mechanics to morals; for in what other way could so great a weight of evil have been removed by so small a force?

Our Society for abolishing negro slavery are about to

* Benjamin Rush, M. D., LL. D., one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was born near Philadelphia, Dec. 24, 1745, and died in that city April 19, 1813. He was equally distinguished as a physician and as a public-spirited citizen. — Eds.

address our Legislature in favor of a law to prohibit the fitting out, owning, or ensuring vessels in Pennsylvania that are to be employed directly or indirectly in the African slave trade. It is expected this law will meet with no opposition.

I beg of your acceptance of a syllabus of 12 lectures which I lately gave to the young ladies of the Academy, for whose benefit I threw together the hasty thoughts upon female education which I did myself the honor of sending to you some months ago.

With great respect, I am, d^r Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

BENJ^N RUSH.

JEDIDIAH MORSE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

The Reverend Mr. Jeremy Belknap, Boston.

NEW HAVEN, Jan^y 18th, 1788.

REV'D SIR, — Tho. I have not the honour of a personal acquaintance, yet your writings & report have given you such a character as has induced me to presume upon your excuse for troubling you with the enclosed. A year & a half ago I was honoured with a letter from you acknowledging the receipt of a small geographical publication of mine, & containing your very friendly criticisms upon it, for whh., if I do not misremember, I wrote you a letter of thanks. Since that time I have travelled thro. all the States with a particular view of collecting the necessary information for a second publication on the same subject. I have been in some good degree successful. The work (whh. will be enlarged to an octavo vol. of at least 400 pages) is preparing for the press with all

* Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D. D., was born in Woodstock, Conn., Aug. 23, 1761, graduated at Yale College in 1783, was installed as minister of the First Church in Charlestown, Mass., in 1789, resigned in 1820, and died in New Haven, Conn., June 9, 1826. As a geographer he had a European reputation, and he took a very active part in the theological controversies of his time. — EDS.

suitable expedition, & will probably be ready in a month or two. That the book may be as complete & as accurate as possible, I propose when I shall have written my acc^t of each State from the best materials I have collected, to send it to some gentleman in the State described, who will be capable of correcting the errors of the description & of supplying deficiencies. With this view, Sir, I have taken the liberty to enclose you my acct. of New Hampshire. You will excuse my sending you the first & only draught. It is mangled & blotted, but I believe it is legible. I expect to copy it for the press. It would be a Herculean labour to copy the whole work twice. I have left a blank leaf for corrections & additions. Don't, Sir, spare me in the former, nor deny me the latter. I know of no person more capable of assisting me in both than yourself. The nature of the work will not admit of much originality. The book must derive its merit (if it has any) from the accuracy & judgment with whh. it is *compiled*, rather than from the genius with whh. it is *composed*. To save me from the odious character of a *plugiarist*, general credit will be given in the Preface for all selections inserted in the work. I don't mean to particularize all, for that would be both needless & endless. I mention this as a necessary apology for having made so much use of your publications in the enclosed acc^t of N. Hamp^{re}.

The history, you will observe, is brought down no farther than where your first vol. leaves it. Will not the public shortly be obliged by your second vol.? As you doubtless, Sir, have the necessary materials, will it consist with your convenience to give me a very brief sketch of the remainder of the hist. of N. Hamp^{re} down to the present period? Besides a sketch of the particular history of each of the New Eng^d States I purpose to give a brief general history of them combined till their particular histories commence.

I have not yet written my acc^t of Massachusetts. I am at present deficient as to such particular & accurate information of that State as I could wish. I have unsuccessfully applied to a number of gentlemen for their assistance. My information from the Southern is much more particular than from the Northern States. I have published a number of Geographical Enquiries, to whh. I have rec'd complete answers from several States. Perhaps, Sir, you have seen them. I think Mr. Mycall of Newburyport has published them lately in his paper. They have been published in many of the public papers. Would it not be possible to get them answered with respect to Mass^{ts}? There are many gentlemen in Boston who I presume might answer most of them in a few hours time. It would be greatly obliging me, & it would not be unacceptable to the public. Pardon my importunity. It arises from an ambition to have an accurate account given to the public of New England. I apply to none but literary characters, from whom I have reason to hope for success. Your influence in the matter will avail me much. When I shall have written my acct. of Mass^{ts}, if it will not be troubling you too much, I shall wish to submit it your inspection, & correction, & shall wish you to shew it to such of your literary friends as you may think proper.

Some time since a Magazine was published in Boston, (if I mistake not, Freeman was the editor,) whh. was partly taken up in describing very particularly the several towns in Mass^{ts},—it would be of great service to me. I was to have had a sett of them forwarded to me, but have never rec'd them. Can they be procured? If those numbers only whh. contain these particular descriptions of towns could be obtained & forwarded under cover to Mr. Elias Beers, Post Master, New Haven, (whose permission I have,) I should be very much obliged, & would make immediate remittance of the expence. I have been

some time making collections for a Gazetteer of the United States.

When you shall have perused & corrected the enclosed, (whh. I wish may be done as soon as may suit your convenience,) will you be kind enough, Sir, to enclose it to me, under cover to Mr. Beers, as above; as it is the only copy I have, I should be very sorry to lose it.

I have the happiness to be particularly acquainted with Mr. Payne of Charleston; he has some copies of my Enquiries, & I hope some information for me.

Excuse me, Sir, for troubling you with so many requests, & so long a letter, & believe that I am, rev'd Sir, with great respect & esteem, your most obd^t & very humble serv^t,

JED^a MORSE.

Rev'd Jeremy Belknap.

JEREMIAH LIBBEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev'd Jeremy Belknap, Boston. Free. Jere^b Libbey.

PORTSMOUTH, Feb^r 8th, 1788.

DEAR S^r, — I rec^d your kind favour of the 6th instant, and do rejoice that the Constitution is adopted by your State; altho the majority was small, it must be pleasing to hear that the minority appear to be satisfied, & promise to do all in their power to inculcate peace & harmony among their constituents. Our Convention is to meet next Wednesday, & I hope to have the pleasure to inform you of the adoption of it in this State within a short time, and by a larger majority.

Inclos'd is a letter I rec^d from Dover.

With compliments to Mrs. Belknap, I am, dear Sir, your most hum. servant,

JEREMIAH LIBBEY.

NOAH WEBSTER TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

*The Reverend Mr Belknap, Boston or New Hampshire.*NEW YORK, Feby 9th, 1788.

REV^d SIR, — My acquaintance with you, tho slight, will, I flatter myself, apologize for this letter; especially as the subject is important.

I now superintend the publication of a Magazine in this city, the plan of which I wish to enlarge so as to comprehend every species of useful information in the United States, — in short, so as to make it a federal publication. My plan is this: to divide the property of the work into ten shares; to have a proprietor in Boston, another in Connecticut, a third in Philadelphia, a fourth in Virginia, a fifth in Charleston, & the editor with the principal superintendence in New York & four shares. The other share to be disposed of in New Jersey, Maryland, or Georgia, as we can find a suitable person; or perhaps in Connecticut, if all the poets in that State will unite in partnership. The proprietors in the distant parts will have little more business than to collect materials & forward to the editor. The materials to consist of original essays on all subjects, returns of deaths, burials, &c., entries at custom-houses, philosophical observations on the weather, the degrees of heat & cold, celestial phenomena, state of civil & ecclesiastical polity, colleges, ancient records & curious anecdotes, &c., &c. These articles regularly communicated, with such European articles as would be interesting, would fill 100 pages large octavo each month, & being sent to every part of America would form a line of useful intelligence highly beneficial to the States in every point of view. Such a

* Noah Webster, the celebrated lexicographer, was born in West Hartford, Conn., Oct. 16, 1758, graduated at Yale College in 1778, and died in New Haven, May 28, 1843. He was the first editor of Winthrop's Journal, and was a voluminous writer, but he is now best known by his Spelling Book and Dictionaries. — Eds.

plan well executed would remove prejudices, & gradually cement our union.

The gentlemen I have thought of as proprietors are Mr Belknap, Mr Barlow or Mr Trumbull, Dr Rush, & Dr Ramsay. Who can be obtained in Virginia I know not. I have written to these gentlemen, but have not yet received an answer from either.

Such a work would be read by almost every man of tolerable taste & property in America. The smallest number of subscribers to be expected is 3,000; the probability is there would be 5,000. The work at 3 dollars a year would clear one dollar for each Magazine, which would leave 100 dollars clear profit for each proprietor on every thousand. The shares would be worth at least 300 dollars each, & probably 500; & any gentleman of tolerable leisure would make the proper collections of materials without interfering with other business. The proprietors would be the wholesale merchants, & the booksellers might make a profit that would render it worth their while to take all the trouble of the subscriptions. As editor, I would engage to furnish paper, contract for printing, superintend the press, arrange the materials, & disperse the copies to every part of America. The plan, if formed, may be settled the beginning of the present year, & the proposals circulating for the six last months, so that the publication might commence the beginning of next year.

I cannot but think this plan practicable, & the most useful that can be devised for a young country. Such publications are supported in London by societies of literary gentlemen, & it appears to me one might be conducted in America that would be beneficial to the proprietors as well as to the public. Indeed, periodical publications are almost the only lucrative ones, as you probably may know from experience.

Such are the outlines of the plan which are submitted

to your better judgement. I wish a few friends only to be made ac[quainted] with it, for in private life as in governmen[t] monarchy* is the most energetic in its operations.

I am, rev^d Sir, with perfect respect, your most obedient hum^l servant,

NOAH WEBSTER.

The Rev^d Jeremiah Belknap.

ANSWER TO N. W.†

JUNE 28, 1788.

Y^a letter addressed to me would not have lain so long unanswered had you not mentioned y^e 6 *last* months of the present year as the time for circulating proposals for your Magazine. From this circumstance I thought I might take time to consider what you proposed, & needed not be in a hurry to form a judgment. The publication of the work, however, in regular monthly numbers, proves that you have formed your plan, & I suppose engaged such assistance as is agreeable; but if you had not, it could by no means be in my power to comply with your desire. I have as many engagements as I can possibly attend to, & should be loth to form any others lest I should disappoint y^e expectations of my friends. I hope to rank you among y^e number, & am, Sir, y^r very hbl. serv^t,

J. B.

* Query, — Who is to be the Monarch?

“Why, man, he doth bestride the narrow world
Like a Colossus; & we petty Men
Walk under his huge legs & peep about
To find ourselves dishonourable graves.”

Shaksp. Jul. Cæs.

The foregoing query and answer were written in the margin by Dr. Belknap. In the correspondence between Belknap and Hazard, Noah Webster is frequently referred to as “the Monarch.” — Eds.

† Dr. Belknap’s “Answer” is printed from a copy, partly in short hand, filed among his papers. — Eds.

JEREMIAH LIBBEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston. Free. Jeremiah Libbey.

PORTSMOUTH, Feb^y 19th, 1788.

DEAR S^R, — When you gave me the pleasing account of the adoption of the Constitution by your State, I had no doubt in my mind but I should have been able to have return'd you an agreeable one of the doings of our Convention; but I do assure you I feel mortified & very disagreeable to find how they are conducting. By the Spy which I inclose you will see their proceedings for the first day or two; since which it appears there is a majority against it, and their conduct is as it is. They, the Antifederalist, except two or three of their leaders, are as dumb & obstinate as ——. They will not say a word on the subject, even in private conversation, being determin'd [to] put the issue on the important sign of [li]fting their hands, and I suppose every one of them has capacity to do that. Their leaders are General Badger and Atherton the lawyer, in the Convention; & General Peabody, who has not a seat, acts out door, & does more mischief than he could do had he a seat. From what Mr. Pickering & others say, the only thing that can be done to prevent its rejection is to have an adjournment of the Convention. I think to go to Exeter tomorrow, and still hope to be able to give you a more agreeable account, for I find the present conduct alarms all characters in this town. They seem to apprehend the most fatal consequences from the present appearances.

What will be the event God only knows, and altho at present it appears so very disagreeable I cannot but think something brighter will open on us, as every person of any reputation is desirous of its being adopted, & reprobate the conduct of those persons who oppose it in the way they do.

I shall by next stage inform you how they proceed, & am, dear S^r, your friend & servant,

JEREMIAH LIBBEY.

P. S. Have rec^d yours. Will observe its contents & answer it ¶ next stage.

Y^{rs}, J. L.

JEREMIAH LIBBEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston. Free. J^h Libbey.

PORTSMOUTH, Feb^y 22^d, 1788.

DEAR S^r,—I rec^d yours of the 16th. If M^r Roberts calls on me for the tax, I will pay it. I believe the General Court in their last session did nothing on your matter. I spoke to several of the members, & they did not doubt that something would be done, if it could be bro't forward; but they seem'd to be in such a hurry that I think it was not taken up. When the Dec^r Magazine arrives, I will make out the acc^t as you request. Three sett is all that you need to send, as I have disposed of no more; the remainder I shall return you.

I was at Exeter on Wednesday last, and am not so apprehensive of the rejection of the Constitution as before I went, but yet am not without my fears. I am in great hopes that M^r Atherton, the leader of the Antifederalists, will destroy what he aims to establish by his overmuch talking. There is no paragraph but he objects to, & I think from his over zeal he will eventually serve the cause he means to injure. It is very doubtfull how the numbers are; each party think they have a majority, & yet appear afraid of each other. They have now got thro the Constitution; and whether the grand question will be put tomorrow is uncertain, as each party seem doubtfull of the issue. Some propose an adjournment of the Convention, while others wish for the question. One or the other will take place tomorrow, it is

expected; and the inhabitants of this town are waiting with impatience for the determination. Mr. Pickering informs that the objections and debates are many of them *new*, & very different from any in the Massachusetts. Whether any person has taken them down I know not. The speakers on Wednesday were M^r Atherton, M^r Hooper, the Baptist preacher, and a M^r Parker, against the Constitution. They were answer'd in a masterly manner (as I tho't) by Dr. La[ngdon], Mr. Thirston of North Hill, Judge Livermore, President Sullivan, Col. Langdon, & Mr. Pickering. A Deacon Stone was much alarm'd because there was no test. "He tho't it would leave the Bible, that precious jewell, that pearl of great price, without any support, and that the Papist or men of no religion would get into office, and that the blood of all the martyrs would rise up against us." He was answer'd by M^r Thurstin & Judge Livermore in a manner that was pleasing to the audience.

I have not time to enlarge or to correct what I have wrote. The blunders, &c., you will excuse, & believe me to be, S^r,

Your friend & very hum. serv^t,

JEREMIAH LIBBEY.

WILLIAM SPOTSWOOD TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Rev. M^r Jeremy Belknap, Boston.

PHILADELPHIA, 25th Feby, 1788.

SIR, — I have to apologize for my neglect in not earlier answering your obliging favor of the 2nd of January last. Hurry of business, with an expectation of communicating to you some matters relative to the Magazine, is what I hope will plead my excuse; besides, I expect M^r Dallas, as a person of more leisure and better adapted for the purpose, corresponds with you on such subjects as appear

to him of consequence in the pursuit of our undertaking. Apprehensive lest I might be neglectful, I sent Mr Dallas your last letter, with the inclosures, immediately on receipt thereof. As a man of business I may occasionally trouble you with a few lines; as such, I hope you will accept of them, and grant me your indulgence for impunctuality.*

The proprietors of the Magazine have lately had a meeting to settle accounts for the first volume, the investigation of which, as was expected, did not turn out favorable, there appearing to be a considerable loss. Such an issue of the business could not be very satisfactory to persons in business, the consequence of which has been that a dissolution of the partnership has taken place. I was made an offer of continuing the publication, which I accepted of, in order to make a trial for a few months longer, though appearances are not in its favor from a variety of circumstances, — having the Museum to contend with in this city, and a similar publication in New York.

The receipt of the American Plutarch has elated me to no small degree, esteeming it an article that should interest readers on all parts of this continent. *I consider the sum I have stipulated as inadequate to the assistance you have rendered the Magazine*, but necessity compels the making a close bargain. I however would be sorry that my fixing a rate on such assistance as you may please to afford, or the manner in which I have taken to convey that idea, should give you offence, as nothing could be farther from my meaning. Whenever I write, which at all times is with reluctance, and generally in a hurry, it is without much consideration, therefore may commit to paper my ideas in a coarse manner, tho' at the same time not intended. If success should happen to crown our

* See Dr. Belknap's letter to Ebenezer Hazard, March 19, 1788, in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. p. 27. — EDS.

endeavors, you shall then have your own terms. I am sorry the Foresters did not accompany the Plutarch; the want of more original matter, I think, must operate against the success of the Magazine. In the Notes to Correspondents we have solicited the assistance of materials for the Plutarch, but doubt much of receiving any, as voluntary supplies of aid have been very few. Any expence or step you may take towards forwarding the Magazine shall have my approbation, whether it proves successful or not; and if a farther abatement of 10 or 15£ $\frac{1}{2}$ cent will induce Mr Larkin to extend the sale in the New England States by placing them in the hands of creditable booksellers or others, this or any other agreement you may make with him for that purpose shall have my concurrence. None as yet have been sent to Rhode Island, Worcester, &c., where I suppose a few might be disposed of. I am unacquainted with the booksellers or the mode for conveyance to the Northern States, but would willingly forward them to such as are likely to make regular payments. Exertions must be made to ensure even a tolerable portion of success, and I am determined nothing in my power shall be wanting. I am now reprinting the first six months, which I expect will be finished the latter end of April next, and thereby complete about 800 volumes, and will then have it in my power to forward as many complete volumes as may be required, bound, or in blue paper.

I cannot answer for Mr. Trenchard's talent at taking likenesses. He was rather unfortunate in that of General Washington, which was generally disapproved of. He may, however, be more fortunate in his future essays in that line. The reason for my requesting your furnishing hints for designs for the engravings was to prevent our subjects being altogether local, and that you might probably recommend some things which might please with you. The map of Pennsylvania given with the January Maga-

zine will shew you that our design of giving maps has not altogether fallen through. It has turned out a tedious and expensive undertaking, the cost about £60 of this currency. The month to which the map is prefixed is not to be sold under half a dollar, unless to the permanent friends of the work, who are to have it at the usual price. The charge to booksellers as usual, provided an equal number shall be taken of the succeeding months for that year, or to be paid for at the rate of 3s. for each Magazine. Inclosed I send you M^r Carey's receipt for 18s., which I have paid him, and charged to your acc^t.

I remain, with great esteem & respect, your obliged humble servant,

WILLIAM SPOTSWOOD.

JOHN SULLIVAN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremiah Belknap, at Boston.

DURHAM, Feb^y 26, 1788.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — The inclosed being altogether of a private nature, I now proceed to give you some account of our political proceedings in this State. The Convention when assembled to the amount of one hundred stood thus: seventy against & thirty for the new Constitution. You will perhaps wonder how it happened that so large a majority was against it & so few in favor; but you know, Sir, that few enter at the strait gate, while great numbers pursue a more dangerous road. But the minority was made up of men that had studied the Constitution, acted their own judgment, & felt themselves possessed of independent minds & estates. The majority had some good men that were short sighted; some few who longed for the onions of Egypt; many who were distressed & in debt; numbers who conceived that this system would compel men to be honest, against both their inclination &

their interest; some who were blinded through excess of zeal for the cause of religion, and others who by putting on the masque of sanctity thought to win proselites. Thus aranged, we entered the field of action; and you cannot be surprized if I tell you that all the objections made against the new plan & published in your State were handed out here by rote, with such amendments, alterations, embellishments, and disfigurements as ingenuity, folly, obstinacy, & false piety could suggest. However, the good cause gained ground, & when we adjourned I think that a majority was in favor; but as about thirty who were bound by instructions to vote against the plan had through the preaching of Doctor Langdon & others become real converts, it was thought best to have an adjournment that they might go home & obtain liberty to act their own judgment, and I doubt not but it will then be received by a very large majority. But, Sir, lest you should conceive that we have no talents at invention in this State, and that all our objections were borrowed from Massachusetts, I will now give you some specimens of New Hampshire ingenuity. A pious Deacon liked the plan, or rather would have liked it if it had afforded any security of our having the Holy Scriptures continued to us in our mother tongue. The want of a religeous test was urged here, as well as with you; but even if that was given up in all other cases, the President at least ought to be compelled to submit to it, for otherwise, says one, "a Turk, a Jew, a Rom[an] Catholic, and what is worse than all, a Universal[ist], may be President of the United States." If time would permit, I could give you many other specimens of original genius in the members of our Convention, but I hope the above will suffice.

I beg you to present my compliments to your lady and family, and that you will believe me to be, very respectfully, Sir, your most obedient serv^t,

JNO. SULLIVAN.

Rev^d Mr. Belknap.

JOHN SULLIVAN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

DURHAM, February 26th, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — I hope you will not suppose me unmindful of what I promised concerning your books. I considered that, if it was brought on before the Court and rejected, it would almost preclude every prospect in future; I therefore concluded it was best privately to feel the pultses of members, but to my very great mortification I found it impossible to attempt it with the most distant probability of success. The complaint at Charlestown was the derangement of our finances; at Decem^r & Jan^r sessions the hurry of business was assigned as an additional reason for delay. I do not, however, despair of success, although I lament the injury which you must suffer by having the matter postponed. The most material objection is in great measure removed. The credit of the State, which has been sunk to the lowest mark, has now arisen to a heighth almost beyond conception; our deranged finances are restored to order; & orders upon our treasury now pass equal with silver & gold. This, Sir, was owing to some acts which I procured to be passed, but not without great opposition, the good effects of which are now sensibly felt, & begin to be universally acknowledged. This change in the face of our public affairs will open the way for a display of generosity, or at least will prevent our shuddering at the idea of expending a small sum to procure great & lasting benefit to the State. You may rest assured, Sir, that I will spare no effort to have it fixed at the next session. I am, with the most exalted sentiments of esteem and respect, Sir,

Your most obed^t serv^t,

Private.

JN^o SULLIVAN.*Rev^d M^r Belknap.*

JEREMIAH LIBBEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston. Free. Jere^h Libbey.

PORTSMOUTH, Feb^r 26th, 1788.

DEAR S^R, — Have just rec^d yours of the 24th. The report you mention is true. The Convention adjourn'd on Fryday last to meet at Concord on the third Wednesday of June next. Mr. Pickering says it was the only thing that could be done to prevent the Constitutions being *thrown out*, and they obtain'd an adjournment by a small majority. There were 45 Federalists & 11 that would have voted for it, but their instructions would not permit. The others were as obstinate as could be conceived. Mr. Atherton says it will be better for this State to reject it & stand alone if all the others adopt it. I suppose you know his character; but I believe you have bad characters in your State likewise. A Doct^r Kilham of Newbury Port, I am informed, came to Exeter the day the Convention adjourn'd with a large number of the phamphlets that were wrote at York, & gave them to M^r Atherton, & he dispersed them amongst his party. If that was not base conduct, what is?

Inclosed is the Spy, with the list of the members. I cannot now mark which are Anti, &c.; but if I can be informed will let you know. The schedule you inclosed I will attend to the first oppertunity that offers.

I am, dear S^r, your most hum. serv^t,

JEREMIAH LIBBEY.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

*The Rev^d Mr Jeremy Belknap, Boston.*PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 28th, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—In answer to your question respecting the conduct & opinions of the Quakers in Pennsylvania, I am very happy in being able to inform you that they are all (with an exception of three or four persons only) highly Fæderal. There was a respectable representation of that society in our Convention, all of whom voted in favor of the new Constitution. They consider very wisely that the abolition of slavery in our country must be gradual in order to be effectual, and that the section of the Constitution which will put it in the power of Congress twenty years hence to restrain it altogether was a great point obtained from the Southern States. The appeals, therefore, that have been made to the humane & laudable prejudices of our Quakers by our Antifæderal writers upon the subject of negro slavery, have been treated by that prudent society with silence and contempt.

Some of the same reasons have operated upon me that have influenced you to admire & prefer the new government. If it held forth no other advantages that [than?] a future exemption from paper money & tender laws, it would be eno' to recommend it to honest men. To look up to a government that encourages virtue, establishes justice, insures order, secures property, and protects from every species of violence, affords a pleasure that can only be exceeded by looking up in all circumstances to a GENERAL PROVIDENCE. Such a pleasure, I hope, is before us & our posterity under the influence of the new government.

The arguments, or, to express myself more properly, the objections of your minority were in many respects the same as those which were urged by the speakers in

behalf of the minority of Pennsylvania. They both suppose that the men who are to be entrusted with the supreme power of our country will become at once the receptacles of all the depravity of human nature. They forget that they are to be part of ourselves, and if we may judge of their future conduct by what we have too often observed in the State governments, the members of the Fæderal legislature will much oftener injure their constituents by voting agreeably to their inclinations than *against* them.

But in cherishing jealousies of our rulers we are too apt to overlook the weaknesses & vices of the people. Is not history as full of examples of both in them, as it is of the crimes of kings? What is the present moral character of the inhabitants of the United States? I need not describe it. It proves too plainly that the *people* are as much disposed to vice as their rulers, and that nothing but a vigorous & efficient government can prevent their degenerating into savages, or devouring each other like beasts of prey.

I pant for the time when the establishment of the new government, and the safety to individuals which shall arise from it, shall excuse men who like myself wish only to be passengers from performing the duty of sailors on board the political ship in which ou[r all] is embarked. I have yeilded to a deep sense of [the ex]treme danger of my country, in quitting the [cabin?] for a station at the pump. As soon as the storm is over, and our bark safely moored, the first wish of my heart will be to devote the whole of my time to the peaceable pursuits of science, and to the pleasures of social and domestic life.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, dear Sir,
your affectionate, humble servant,

BENJⁿ RUSH.

The Rev^d Mr Belknap.

JEDIDIAH MORSE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

NEW HAVEN, 3^d March, 1788.

REVEREND SIR, — I received your fav^r of the 11th ult^{no} via New York in due season, for whh. I sincerely thank you. Your remarks, &c. came enclosed, & were such as answered my expectations & wishes. The MS. acc^t of N. Hamp. I had rec^d before by Mr. Morse, & take this opportunity to return you my thanks for your corrections.

I am very sorry to hear of the declining state of my worthy friend, Mr Payne.* He appeared to be in good health last Sep^t when I had the pleasure of seeing him at N. Haven. His decay must have been sudden. Should he be cut off thus early in life, (whh. may Heaven prevent!) his congregation at Charleston would sustain a loss whh. could not easily be made up to them. Are his complaints of the pulmonary kind? If they are, he might receive great benefit from a Southern tour. I am personally acquainted with several gentlemen who have been radically cured after they have been apparently far gone with the consumption.

While I was in Georgia, a Dr Brickle, an ingenious & philosophical gentleman, favored me with his observations on the climate of Georgia as it respected consumptive persons. As they possibly may be of some service to Mr. Payne, if he is afflicted with a pulmonary disorder, I shall take the liberty to enclose them, in his own handwriting. When, Sir, you have made what use of them you think proper, I will thank you to return them, as it is the only copy I have.

I have sketched my acc^t of Mass^{ts}, & by your permission I enclose it for your inspection & correction without

* Rev. Joshua Paine, Jr., minister of the First Church in Charlestown, Mass., was born in Sturbridge, graduated at Harvard College in 1784, was ordained Jan. 10, 1787, and died Feb. 27, 1788, aged twenty-five. "His disease was the consumption, which he contracted by stooping over a low table, upon which he was accustomed to write in his study." (See Budington's History of the First Church, Charlestown, pp. 143-147, 238.) — Eds.

“apologies or excuses,” — not because they are not needed, but because your politeness and candor, & your zeal for the promotion of literature, will induce you to make them on my behalf, & thereby save me the trouble. I send you, Sir, the first & only draught I have of Mass^{ts}, in like manner & for the same reasons as I sent you my only draught of N. Hampshire. I got a part of the Hist. of Mass^{ts} copied, whh. I fear will be hardly legible. I have not time to re-copy it.

I expect shortly to go to New York with a view of tarrying some months in the vacancy made by Mr. Wilson. If you will please to enclose the enclosed MS. to Mr. Hazard, the Post Master, (who has in many instances of the like kind been very friendly & obliging,) it will come safely, & will very probably find me at New York.

Besides a particular acc^t of each of the New Eng^d States I purpose to give a general acc^t of New Eng^d. If it would not intrude too much on your better employm^{ts}, I should be glad to submit that acc^t to your inspection some time hereafter.

With great respect & esteem, I am, rev^d Sir, your most obd^t & very humble serv^t,

JED. MORSE.

Rev'd Mr. Belknap.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO MRS. COLAS.

PHILAD^a, April 12, 1788.

LOVING COUSIN, — I received some time since a kind letter from you which gave me pleasure. As to my coming to Boston, which you seem to wish, and I also, I begin to doubt its being ever accomplish'd. Such a journey at my age would be attended with much inconvenience & hardship, and might, with the malady I have, be dangerous. At present I am in my place, have all my conveniencies and comforts about me, and it seems most

prudent for me to stay where I am & enjoy them, without going abroad to give myself & friends a good deal of trouble which cannot be compensated by our pleasure of meeting, since that will be ballanc'd by the pain of parting.

You need not have made any apology for introducing Thayer to me. He gave me but little trouble, and I had the pleasure of doing him some good ; tho' he is rather an insignificant body, and has turn'd to the Papists, who do not much value the acquisition, and I suppose we may easily bear the loss.

My best wishes attend you, being ever

Your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

M^{rs} Colas.

MATHEW CAREY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev. Jeremy Belknap, Boston.

DEAR SIR, — I hope you will excuse the delay in answering your last favour, which has been occasioned by a considerable absence from this city, hurry, &c.

I thank you for the enclosure, i. e. the extract from the sermon preached by your friend. It shall have a place in the next month's Museum.

Mr Spotswood paid me one year's subscription for you.

I now send such of the numbers as you have not rec^d already.

This letter will be presented to you by Mr Reynolds, whose chief object in Boston is to procure subscriptions for the American Museum. In this business you will have it in your power to render him great service, which I hope you will kindly exert yourself in, which I shall regard as a signal mark of friendship.

In hardly any other way could you advance the business so much as by directing the circular letters he car-

ries with him to such gentlemen in your town as are likely to encourage the work.

I remain, Sir,

Your most obt^t h^{ble} serv^t,

MATHEW CAREY.

PHILADELPHIA, April 29, 1788.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO MATHEW CAREY.

Answer to Carey's Letter of 29 ult., viz. April, 1788.

Mr R. dld. y^{rs} at my ho., in my absence from town on a journey, the weather detained me longer than I expected, & I therefore had not the opp^o to do you the service w^h you desired. However, he found other friends who were equally disposed & more capable to serve the cause, & I hope his success will answer your expectations. I rec^d by him the Museums as far as March, & have recommended to him Mr Hall as a proper person to be entrusted with your concerns on acc^o of his strict integrity.

Will you permit me to make one remark on y^e Museum in the character of a friend. It is entitled a collection of *fugitive* pieces. As far as it is such I much approve it. But are y^e extracts w^h you have made from y^e volumes published by y^e Phil^a Soc^y & y^e Massach^{sts} Academy in any sense *fugitive* pieces? Were they not communications made to regularly instituted philosophical bodies, & by them *preserved in their repositories*, & printed at their expence, w^h expence unless defrayed by y^e sale of the books must lie as a dead weight on them? If copies of the principal things contained in these repositories are multiplied & published in periodical works, has it not a tendency to prevent the sale of those original publications? & ought such extracts to be so largely made without first consulting and obtaining the consent of the bodies who are the real proprietors of y^e volumes? I speak y^e

more freely on this subject because I know the Academy of Sciences in this State are much embarrassed with the expence of printing their late volume, & have been making efforts to promote y^e sale of y^e copies, hitherto with not much success. I also have a view to the credit & usefulness of your publication, & should be loth to find that the members of these literary societies are displeased with your repetition of their pieces without their consent, or that any other persons should entertain an idea that you had gone beyond your professed design, w^{ch} is merely to collect & preserve such fugitive pieces as might probably otherwise be lost. This design is very good, & I wish you success in the prosecution of it. As my intentions in thus opening my mind to you are friendly, I trust no apology can be necessary for my freedom.

I am, Sir, with much respect, &c.

May 17, 1788.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Rev^d Mr Jeremy Belknap, Boston.

PHILADELPHIA, May 6th, 1788.

DEAR SIR, — I beg your acceptance of my thanks for the volume of the Debates of your Convention. They do great honor to your State, and will remain, I hope, as a lasting monument of the good sense, virtue, and knowledge that characterised the year 1788 in the United States of America.

The commerce in African slaves has breathed its last in Pennsylvania. I shall send you a copy of our late law respecting that trade as soon as it is published. I am encouraged, by the success that has finally attended the exertions of the friends of universal freedom & justice, to go on in my romantic schemes (as they have often been called) of serving my countrymen. My next object shall

be the extirpation of the *abuse* of spirituous liquors. For this purpose I have every year for several years past republished the enclosed tract two or three weeks before harvest. The effects of this *perseverance* begin already to shew themselves in our State. A family or a township is hit with the publication one year, that neglected or perhaps ridiculed it the year before. Associations are forming in many places to give no spirits at the ensuing harvest. The Quakers & Methodists take the lead in these associations, as they have often done in all enterprises that have morality or the happiness of society for their objects. Many storekeepers among the Quakers now refuse to buy or sell spirituous liquors. In a short time I expect there will be an act of the Quaker society to forbid the sale, or even use, of them altogether, except as a medicine.

As my opinions upon the subject of the Fæderal government have been often misrepresented by our Anti-fæderal scriblers, I have to beg the favor of you to republish the enclosed extract of one of my letters to my friend, Dr Ramsay of Charleston, in some of your papers. It contains my principles, fairly stated. I beleive I gave *a part* of them in my last letter to you.

The minority of Pennsylvania have nearly exhausted their malice. There will be no opposition by arms in any county in this State to the government when it is set in motion. Mr. Bryan, like his brother Shays, will soon be left a solitary example of political insanity & wickedness. All will end well. The last thing that I can beleive is that Providence has brought us over the Red Sea of the late war to perish in the present wilderness of anarchy & vice. What has been will be, & there is nothing new under the sun. We are advancing thro' *suffering* (the usual road) to peace & happiness. Night preceeded day, & chaos order, in the creation of the world.

With great respect I am, d^r Sir, your friend & humble servant,

BENJ^N RUSH.

P. S. D^r Clarkson & his amiable family are all well.

JEREMIAH LIBBEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston. Free. Jeremiah Libbey.

PORTSMOUTH, May 12th, 1788.

DEAR S^R, — I congratulate you on the adoption of the Constitution by Maryland, and yet hope that New Hampshire will be of the number of the first nine, or be the ninth State that adopts it. I now inclose you the list of our members as they stood about three weeks past, by information, several of which since that time are said to be quite altered from Antifederal to Federal.

I now inclose you the list of the sizes & prices of masts that M^r Mark Wentworth shipt from this river.

I have just been talking with D^r Green about your interest at Dover. We are both of opinion, considering all circumstances, that it is not best at this time to sell it. Perhaps in another year something will turn up to more advantage. When the Constitution is adopted, it is likely things will begin to settle to some fix'd point, & then a better judgment may be form'd of the value of that, as well as all other property.

I am, d^r S^r, in haste,

Your most hum. servant,

JEREMIAH LIBBEY.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Rev^d M^r Jeremy Belknap, Boston. Fav^d by M^r Hilliard.

DEAR SIR, — Enclosed I send you a pamphlet which contains a fresh proof of the progress of justice & humanity in the State of Pennsylvania.

Our accounts from South Carolina & Virginia, of the certainty in the one, & great probability in the other case, of the adoption of the Fæderal goverment are very agreeable & flattering. The Antifæderal spirit is nearly extinct in this city, as well as in every part of the State. Dr Ewing has attempted to exculpate himself [from] the charge of Antifæderalism, & Geo. Bryan (the Shays of our State) is fallen into universal contempt. *All will end well.*

Adieu, from yours sincerely,

BENJⁿ RUSH.

PHILADELPHIA, May 29th, 1788.

JEDIDIAH MORSE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Reverend Mr. Jeremy Belknap, Boston.

NEW YORK, 3^d June, 1788.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — Mr. Hazard handed me your favor of the 24th ult^{mo} a few days ago. The sermon whh came enclosed was very acceptable. I thank the gentleman who desired you to forward it, & you, Sir, for gratifying his desire.

As to the enquiry respecting my present engagements here, it has already been made in a letter from the Rev^d Mr. Payne of Sturbridge, & also by the Rev'd Mr. Hill-yard of Cambridge. I have no other answer to make to the enquiry than that whh. I have already given *them*, whh. was that I had engaged to supply here till the middle of August. After that I have no engagements. What will take place at the close of my engagements here it is impossible to foretell. It is proper that I should inform you likewise that I have under consideration a call from a congregation in Sunbury, in Georgia, 40 miles south of Savannah.

I feel myself much indebted to you, Sir, & to Mr. Avery, for your generous offers of assistance in my geographical undertaking.

As a Gazetteer makes a part of the plan I have in view, I should be obliged by such a concise & comprehensive acc^t of the several townships, counties, &c. in Mass^{ts} & New Hamp. (such I mean as you & Mr. Avery are acquainted with) as would be suitable for such a work, — such as the distance & bearing from the capital of the State, no. of houses & inh^{ts} (if a town of note), in what county, when & by whom settled. If any event or curiosity has rendered a town remarkable, I should like to have that added to the description, & anything more whh. you may think proper to add.

The hint you was so kind as to suggest to Mr. Hazard, (whh. he, at your request, suggested agⁿ to me,) that I had better confine my book to a description of America only, is a good one, & the reasons given to support it are weighty. I have had the same advice given me before. The only reason whh. induced me to think of extending it to a description of the whole world was to preclude the necessity of importing a Classical Geography. But your advice can be followed, & my views answer'd, by publishing the work in two vols. ; — the first to comprehend a description of America only ; the second (if it should be thought expedient to publish a second) to be an Abridgm^t of the Geography of the Eastern Continent. I conclude, however, I shall say *enough* (& if the public don't say so too I shall be glad) when I shall have published the first vol. Last week I put to press a second edition of "Geography made Easy." I have written, or shall write, it entirely over again, & scarcely anything contained in the first edition will be republished but the *title*. I hope to have it ready for sale in 8 or 10 weeks.

If any of your literary friends could conveniently be interested in giving me information respecting such parts of the United States or of N^o Amer. as it is not easy for me to be otherwise made acquainted with, it would give me much pleasure.

Your benevolence will, I trust, excuse my numerous requests, & induce you to pay such attention to them as they deserve, & as your liesure will allow.

I am, rev^d Sir, with much respect & esteem, your obliged friend & hum^{le} serv^t,

JEDⁿ MORSE.

Rev^d J. Belknap.

WILLIAM SPOTSWOOD TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev. Mr Jeremy Belknap, Summer Street, Boston.

CHARLESTON, S. C., 19th June, 1788.

SIR,—I have this day received your agreeable favor of the 2^d of May last, for which you will please to accept my thanks. Your kindness in making my letters acceptable to you is in no small degree flattering to me, in return for which I promise not to relax in my endeavours to acquit myself after the best manner I can.

I most cheerfully accede to your charges for whatever you may furnish for the Magazine; also to allow you a copy or copies of such articles as I may send for sale. If our endeavours, at a future period, should meet with success, I shall be happy in embracing the earliest opportunity of communicating it to you, when you shall be entitled to such a compensation as you may deem adequate to your trouble; and if by a statement of the sales a share in the Magazine should appear most advantageous, you shall have a right to demand a one-fourth for you and your heirs during the continuance of the publication of the Magazine. If we could encrease the sale to about three thousand to a certainty, which number, I understand, has been exceeded by those who have published before us, a fourth share would be at least five hundred a year. The sale of 2,000 would leave a clear profit of 1,000 a year. I beg leave also to repeat my assurance to you, that whilst assisted with your advice

& abilities I shall not want for perseverance, nor for every exertion in my power to promote the sale of the Magazine. I shall at all times willingly concur in any expences which you may judge requisite for promoting the sale of the Magazine, and as the bestowing a few copies among your friends cannot be attended with any great expence, though considerable advantages may be derived thereby, you are at liberty to dispose of as many in that way as you may judge expedient. I am pleased to hear from you that the Magazine meets with the approbation of some judicious persons, and must serve with me as a stimulus to be the more industrious and not to despond entirely of future success. The Columbian Magazine will in a few months have been published two years, which is double the time former attempts in that way have arrived to.

I coincide with you in opinion that the entire exclusion of politics from the Magazine must have operated much against its interest, particularly at this period, big with events of such moment to this country, besides departing, as you observe, from that character which it ought to support, and to have been expected from its readers, "an historical & political register of the times." The proprietors at first setting out, aware of the consequences in Pennsylvania of admitting political articles, were tenacious of encouraging the discussion of such subjects in the Magazine, particularly those of a local or virulent tendency; indeed, to meddle with politicks at all seemed to them likely to precipitate an unfavorable fate to the Magazine, particularly in Pennsylvania, where parties carry their political opinions to a degree bordering on ill nature, if not worse. It, however, was not their intention to exclude well written pieces on general politics; but few, if any, ever came to hand, tho' I have no doubt but it might have been at the hazard of displeasing many. From experience I know the difficulty of pleasing as a

news printer, which induced me to decline publishing the Pennsylvania Herald. My study was to have steered an impartial line. This I found impracticable in Philadelphia, as the existence of a newspaper in Philadelphia depends solely on the printer's avowing himself and his paper devoted to some party; as a stranger, not supposed sufficiently versed in the politics of the country, and the business tho' slavish not appearing to me sufficiently profitable, I thought it most prudent to decline it. I must confess myself no politician, or at least do not wish to dip deep in such matters. Tho' not a native of the United States, yet, as it is my intention to make some one of them the place of my future residence, I feel a greater interest in the welfare of the country than to that of any other; and as a citizen thereof it is my wish by every exertion of my abilities by a laudible industry to render myself worthy of that epithet. I fear politics have led me to trespass a little too far on your patience. I shall therefore return to answer that part of your letter which has induced me to digress a little. As it is now too late to commence a publication from the articles you mention, besides Mr Carey's having already anticipated us in that business, in the selection of which he has not steered clear of complaints. It has, however, occurred to me, in order to make up for our deficiency on the subject of politics, to try to furnish a sketch or history of the United States from the peace, or from any other period you may approve of. This might be given in our supplement to the present volume, which will leave six months for the writing of it. If your other avocations would allow you sufficient leisure to undertake it, I have no doubt of its meeting with general approbation, though in the present temper of the times, if it were to flow from the pen of an angel, there might be some found who would cavil at it.

Being an entire stranger here, I cannot flatter you with the hope that my applications to literary gentlemen will

be attended with any success; even to D^r Ramsey I cannot think of applying without some introduction, which, if I can, I will endeavour to obtain when disengaged from business. As no doubt you are acquainted with the Doctor, a line from you, or the having allowed me the liberty to mention your name, would have been sufficient introduction, and induced him to pay some attention in assisting us. I think it would not be amiss, whilst the Lives are publishing, to continue a few lines in the Notes to Correspondents soliciting assistance, which might prevail on such as have leisure and wish well to the undertaking to furnish some materials for the purpose. If you will send a few lines to that purport, they shall be inserted and continued until the Lives are finished.

When I return to Philadelphia, which I expect will be some time in July next, I will take care to attend to the mode you have pointed out for addressing the Magazines to you in future. During the summer months, I am of opinion, in case an opportunity should offer just at the time of publication, you would stand a chance of receiving the Magazines earlier by water than land, from southerly winds generally prevailing during the summer months. If you approve of it, we may try the experiment occasionally. I will take care to send you a fe[w of] Jefferson's Notes on Virginia. I think, if ever the Magazine should be discontinued, a republication of the American Plutarch from it must answer, which if you approve of, we can have such heads as may be engraved adapted so as to answer a duodecimo volume. When we come towards a close of the Lives, if the largest sized type on which the Magazine is printed pleases you, we might take advantage of it by overrunning the Lives at that time publishing; but this might interfere with the arranging them in chronological order, which I suppose you would deem necessary in any future publication of that work. There, however, is sufficient time to consider

of that undertaking, as it will be a considerable time before the *Lives* will draw towards a close in the Magazine, unless it should be discontinued, an event which I hope will not suddenly take place.

I remain, with great esteem, your obliged humble servant,

WILLIAM SPOTSWOOD.

JEREMIAH LIBBEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston. Free. Jer^a Libbey.

PORTSMOUTH, June 23^d, 4 o'clock, P. M., 1788.

DEAR S^r, — It is with pleasure that I inform you that the Convention of this State on the 21st instant ratified the Constitution,* and for any thing we know of, have the *honor* to be the State that puts the corner or top stone to the Federal edifice. You may say we need something to ballance our *disgrace* before. Be it so, — all I wish is to be equal; and as we have no accounts of Virginia's ratifying it, we must be allowd some credit.

We are all in a hubbub here; light horsemen, artillery, &c., &c., mustered & going out to meet his Excellency, President Langdon.

I must conclude in haste.

S^r, y^r friend & hum. servant,

JEREMIAH LIBBEY.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Rev^d M^r Jeremy Belknap, One of the Ministers of Boston.

PHILADELPHIA, June 24th, 1788.

DEAR SIR, — I enclose you an address to the clergy of all denominations in America which has been ascribed to

* The vote on the question of ratification was fifty-seven in the affirmative and forty-six in the negative. — Eps.

me. From the candid & favourable reception which the plan for an ecclesiastical fæderal government for the advancement of *morals* has met with in our city, I am disposed to hope for success in the proposal. I beg you would reprint it in your papers in Boston, but without my name. At the same time, I h^[torn] no objection to being known as the author ^[torn] of D^r Lathrop, M^r Hillard, & President Willard.

With great respect, I am, d^r Sir, yours sincerely,

BENJⁿ. RUSH.

P. S. There is *now no doubt* of the adoption of the Fæderal Constitution by Virginia.

JEDIDIAH MORSE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

The Rev'd Mr. Jeremy Belknap, Boston.

26th June, 1788.

Your favor, dear Sir, of the 16th I rec'd in season. I most sincerely thank you for your friendship, & wish ever to deserve it. I meant, Sir, that you should attend to my requests no farther than "your liesure would allow," & I knew you had but little to bestow. I thought, however, I would let you know what information I wanted, & leave it to you, Sir, to give me as much as your liesure would allow. I thought perhaps others might be engaged to bestow a little.

I intend, by leave of Providence, to take the *tour* of the Eastern States the ensuing fall, & shall not neglect to collect what information I can for the Gazetteer.

The foregoing letter I purpose to circulate through all the States, among such gentlemen as are able & likely to furnish answers.

* This letter is written on the blank pages of a printed circular, dated New York, June 23d, 1788, asking for information to be embodied in a proposed "Gazetteer of North America." — Eds.

It would be a circumstance very pleasing to me to be seated in the neighbourhood of Boston, where I might enjoy the *weekly* privilege of your more immediate assistance. But where I shall fix is yet concealed in the womb of Providence.

I don't at present think of any "*specific enquiries*" whh. I would wish to make. When I shall have time to review my MSS. of Mass^{ts} & N. Hamp., some may occur.

With much respect, I am yours,

JED. MORSE.

N. B. I have taken the liberty to enclose a number of copies of this Circular Letter, whh. you will please, Sir, to distribute as you may think proper. As the Assembly of your State are now sitting, it will be a good opportunity to spread them.

I fear, Sir, you will think me a troublesome & unprofitable correspondent. I beg you would pay such attention to my *numerous* requests as your *convenience* will admit, & such *only*. Don't *suffer* me to be troublesome, & then you will oblige your friend,

J. M.

 Suffer me, Sir, to congratulate you on the adoption of the Constitution in New Hampshire.

JEREMIAH LIBBEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

PORTSMOUTH, June 30th, 1788.

DEAR S^r, — I rec^d yours of the 26th with the Magazines. The letter for Dr Stephens I delivered. I was at Exeter a short time since, and had the interest & 15 p^{c} of your note in a certificate which I will send you, if you please. There is no sale for them here at present.

I now inclose you a newspaper, with the account of the procession, &c. on Thursday last. It much exceeded my

expectation, and what is extraordinary, the paper account does [n]ot represent it greater than it was, but really falls short of the facts. The procession of the chaise makers & some others are omitted in the acc^t. Every part of it was very regular, & the whole ended without any disturbance. The procession moved from the State House, & went down Pleasant Street by D^r Haven's; then turnd at the Mill Bridge & went up over Liberty Bridge; thence up Pitt Street & turnd by Col^o Brewster's; then went down Buck Street by M^r Sheafe's; then turnd & went into Daniels St. by M^r Jn^o Sherburne's; then up that street to M^r Rindge's Corner; from thence thro' Market Street to Deer Street, & thro' that to Vaughan Street by the Assembly House; then from the head of Vaughan Street to the State House; & from thence round Maj^r Hale's Corner to Wibird's, now Union Hill, where the collation, &c. was provided. After dinner they re-turnd in the same order, by M^r Treadwell's & D^r Cutter's to the State House, where the procession broke up. We have copied your State in having a procession; but a Boston gen^l who was present told me we really exceeded you. That, you know, must be a great honor.

With compliments to M^{rs} Belknep, I am, dear S^r,

Your friend & servant,

JEREMIAH LIBBEY.

The letter to Mr. Dean, I have sent by the [*wafer cut out*] post; will speak to the printer to put [*wafer cut out*] peice you mention.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO JEDIDIAH MORSE.

July 24, 1788.

DEAR SIR, — Yesterday Mr. Cary & ano. genⁿ f^m Charleston were with me who desired me to inquire of you how soon you could be here, as they have a genⁿ preach^g there whose time will be out in ab^t 3 weeks, &

they have a very strong desire to hear you before they determine on a call for settle^t. What has been s^d to y^m by Mr Paine of Sturbridge concern^g you has raised an expectation in your favor. I beg you would immediately let me know the earliest day in w^h it will be possible for you to comply with their wishes, that I may inform them of it, & that they may order their engagements accordingly.

Since I sent you y^e book w^h Mr Walcut desired, I have dld 2 more of y^e Circular Letters, viz. one to Mr Partridge of Duxb^y, Sheriff of Plym^o C^o, y^e other to Col. Baldwin of Woburn, Sheriff of Middlesex.

Indorsed by Mr. Belknap, "Copy to Morse."

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, at Boston.

PHILADA^a, Augst 19th, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—Ever since I was one & twenty years of age I have unfortunately been engaged in combatting vulgar errors or popular prejudices. The enclosed enquiry into the justice & policy of punishing murder by death is the boldest attack I have ever made upon a public opinion or a general practice. It has already made some converts, and staggered many Old Testament saints & legislators. I wish to have it republished in your papers, for in the Eastern States all improvements in government must originate. The essay upon punishments was ascribed to D^r Franklin in your papers. I have no objection to that mistake being corrected in the republication of the enclosed enquiry.

Perhaps the republication of the dialogue upon spirituous liquors may do good in your State. The stroke at New England rum was intended only for our State; it must be omitted in the Boston impression of it.

I wait with impatience for the receipt for making maple and spruce beer.

Every day brings to light some facts which show the effects of the publications against spirituous liquors upon the public mind. They say in England "that you may write down a parliament, a ministry, & even a king." I have seen a tender and a test law written down in Pennsylvania. Let us try the force of the press upon spirituous liquors in every part of the United States. I call upon you, my worthy tho' unknown friend, to act the part of a pioneer in this business in Massachusetts. Your success will be certain, & your reward great, both here & hereafter. Dr Ramsay will be our coadjutor in South Carolina. The good effects of our labors will appear in the next generation. Habitual drunkards are beyond the influence of *reason*, but young men will feel its force upon this subject & act accordingly. In the year 1915 a drunkard I hope will be as infamous in society as a liar or a thief, and the use of spirits as uncommon in families as a drink made of a solution of arsenic or a decoction of hemlock.

Since writing the above, I have rec^d your letter by Capt. Dagget. Accept of my thanks for it.

Philad^a porter sells for 8/4 a dozen, while British porter is *offered for sale* at 17/6. Good judges pronounce ours equal to that which is made in London. It is sold by the barrel in the same ratio to the English porter as by the dozen bottles.

I congratulate you upon your success in bringing back the poor negroes to Boston.* I have enjoyed many such feasts as you describe in your letter. I love even the name of Africa, and never see a negro slave or freeman

* In February, 1788, three negroes were decoyed on board of a vessel in Boston harbor, and carried to the West Indies, where they were sold into slavery. Subsequently, in consequence of the intervention of Governor Hancock and the French Consul at Boston, they were released and brought back to Massachusetts. (See the second part of the Belknap Papers, 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. pp. 19-21, 25, 32, 55.) — Eds.

without emotions which I seldom feel in the same degree towards my unfortunate fellow-creatures of a fairer complexion. When shall Æthiopia stretch forth her hand to embrace the olive branch of the Gospel? And when shall the mystery of Providence be explained which has permitted so much misery to be in[fllicted] upon these unfortunate people? Is slavery [*here*] to be substituted among them for misery *hereafter*? They partake in their vices of the fall of man. They must therefore share in the benefits of the atonement. Let us continue to love & serve them, for they are our brethren, not only by creation, but by redemption.

From, d^r Sir, yours sincerely,

BENJⁿ RUSH.

P. S. Comp^{ts} to my worthy friend, D^r Lathrop.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Rev^d M^r Jeremy Belknap, one of the Ministers of Boston.

PHILAD^a, Octobr 7th, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I am very sorry the publication from your letter respecting the negroes exposed you to fresh attacks from your enemies in Boston. It was extracted & sent to the press by a worthy Quaker to whom I lent your letter. Hereafter I shall use more caution with your communications.

The receipts you sent me are very acceptable. I expect to obtain a place for them in the American Museum, thro' which they will find an extensive circulation thro' our country.

Our State has taken the lead in making arrangements for setting the new government in motion. By obliging the whole State to vote in one ticket, it is expected the Fæderalists will prevail by a majority of two to one in

the choice of Representatives for the lower house of Congress. Our Senators are both highly Fæderal. Mr Morris's character for abilities and integrity is well known. Mr Maclay possesses great talents for government. He was bred a lawyer, but has spent the last twenty years of his life in a succession of public employments. He is alike independant in fortune & spirit. In his manners he is a perfect republican.

My essay upon the punishment of murder by death has been attacked in our newspapers by the Rev^d Mr Annan (formerly of Boston).^{*} He rants in a most furious manner against Socinians and Deists, and so far from treating me with the meekness of a Christian, he has not even treated me like a gentleman. His arguments are flimsy, and such as would apply better to the 15th than the 18th century. They all appear to flow from his severe Calvinistical principles. It is impossible to advance human happiness while we believe the Supreme Being to possess the passions of weak or wicked men, and govern our conduct by such opinions. "The Son of Man came not to destroy men's *lives*, but to *save* them," is a passage that at once refutes all the arguments that ever were offered in favor of slavery, war, and capital punishments.

Mr Jn^o Adams will probably have all the votes of our State for the Vice President's chair. Mr Hancock['s] frequent indispositions *alone* will preclude him from that mark of respect from Pennsylvania.

From, dear Sir, yours sincerely,

BENJⁿ RUSH.

P. S. I enclose you an oration which I composed for Dr Clarkson's youngest son against spirituous liquors. The Dr and myself lately delivered a testimony against them in a public conference of the Methodists in this city, at the request of their Superintendant. The Qua-

^{*} See note, *ante*, p. 263. — Eds.

kers have at their last yearly meeting recommended to their members to refrain from dealing in spirits in any way whatever. Go on, Go on, Go on, & all will end well.

WILLIAM SPOTSWOOD TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Rev. Mr Belknap, Summer Street, Boston.

PHILADELPHIA, 9th October, 1788.

DEAR SIR, — You will please to accept my sincere thanks for the solicitude you have been so kind as to express for my safe return to Philadelphia, in your favor of the 17th of September last. I left Charleston on the 14th of August, and arrived here, after an agreeable passage, the 24th of said month. With the September Magazines I return you the view of the college, New England, a poem, and another manuscript. If any other article remains here which you wish to have returned, you will please to mention it, and I shall attend to the forwarding it.

It is a considerable satisfaction to me that a proper attention has been paid to your commands during my absence. Young is a journeyman printer who has been a considerable time in my employment, and Conrad is my eldest apprentice. The term partner has now become rather ungrateful to me. I have had some connections of the kind in the course of my endeavours on this continent, most of whom have used me ill, — if not worse.

My delay at Charleston has not been owing to anything agreeable turning out there, — but the reverse; being most ungenerously treated by two persons there in whom I had reposed an unbounded confidence, by placing goods to a considerable amount in their hands for sale, of which I could not obtain a settlement, and but a dull prospect left of their ever doing me that justice which I have a right to expect. There remains no

chance of my having it in my power to compel them to settle with me, as they have removed the property to Savannah, in Georgia, where a tender of paper money can be made, depreciated so low as ten for one. This has been one of my *partnerships*, which, instead of deriving any advantage from it, has given me such a stroke as I shall not readily recover from. The sale of the Magazine at Charleston is above one hundred, and promises to encrease there. The American Magazine, the contents of which has been advertised monthly at full length in the State Gazette, Mr Timothy's paper, has had but an indifferent sale at Charleston, not above five or six each month. This I was credibly informed to been a fact, which can be accounted for in no other manner than that the Columbian Magazine meets with a preference from its being first published there, and not from its superior excellence, as several numbers of the American Magazine have been allowed to possess considerable merit. Novelty, one would imagine, ought to have obtained a greater demand. There is about 24 of the Museums sold each month.

I shall be ready at any time you may require to lay before you an accurate statement of the sales of the Magazine, but think it useless in its present situation, which is nearly the same as stated in my letter of April last, — rather on the decline in this State. Upon a rough calculation, I judge that I must sink upon the Magazine above £100 every six months, and the only hope left me for reimbursement or profit is from the stock which remains on hand, and am sorry I have it to say is accumulating too fast. The payments I have monthly to make are heavy, and must be answered, which are paper, copperplate printing, engraving. the editor, &c., &c., the weight of which I begin now sensibly to feel, and with difficulty can continue to answer them, particularly since the disappointments I have experienced at Charleston. Another

article which helps to straiten me is the paying the former proprietors with new Magazines for their old stock, a condition they stipulated for on my taking upon myself the sole proprietorship.

In as brief a manner as possible I have now laid before you a sketch of my present situation. I am sensible how much the Magazine is indebted for your assistance, and the interest you have taken in it by endeavoring to promote its circulation, without which we must have but cut a sorry figure indeed. At the same time I am sorry it is not in my power to make you such compensation as I would wish. I do not like saying what you shall receive for your trouble; therefore have to beg you will make your charge for what is past, and it shall be complied with by me. I can have no objection to enter into a more explicit contract beside what is contained in letters, and in this must leave you to say what mode and terms will be agreeable to you, and so far as I think will be in my power to perform shall be complied with by me, and more I am sure you will not expect. I must here observe, that I would not wish to be bound to any agreement longer than whilst I continue sole proprietor of the Magazine. At the same time, should I relinquish the proprietorship, will have no objection to be bound to reserve to you a one-fourth share.

I shall comply with whatever abatement you have made on the Magazines, but it should not be allowed on any previous to January, 1788, as with that month I commenced sole proprietor. To interfere with any dealings previous to that period would be a great inconvenience, as I would have to account with the original proprietors at $\frac{1}{6}$ P. C., and dispose of them at $\frac{1}{3}$, which could not be expected. I think I am safe in declaring that from its first publication until this time no bookseller on the continent has received them under $\frac{1}{6}$ P. C., but as an abatement is to be made at Boston the booksellers in other

States will expect the same allowance. Mr Carey's having set us the example makes it necessary that we should follow his example if we would wish to maintain a proper footing with the booksellers. Mr Carey sometimes takes hasty steps for which he is sometimes sorry for; but I believe he can better afford making the abatement than we can, as he executes his work with less ready money expences, having no editor, engravings, and many other expences to answer. The abatement I think should not be made unless a considerable number is engaged, and some exertions made to promote the sale. If besides the above abatement the carriage also to Boston, with advertising, &c., it can be scarcely worth while sending them, as each Magazine is reckoned to stand us in near a shilling Pens. Currency. I think it unreasonable that any bookseller should expect that Magazines which have been abused by placing them at windows, or the leaves cut open for the purpose of reading, should be received back. This is contrary to rule, and should not be complied with.

I will mention to Mr Dallas your opinion as to the selection of essays on general politics and the other articles recommended by you. A line from you to him might perhaps have a better effect. I am afraid he is too negligent in corresponding with you. I have not seen the *Life of Baron Trenck*, but shall make enquiry for it. It was my opinion at the first publishing of the Magazine, that the promising a list of the subscribers with the first volume would have had a good effect, but in this was overruled by the other proprietors.

I will send, agreeable to your request, one dozen of *Enfield's Prayers* at 3/. I pay for the binding of them one shilling each book. Perhaps you could have them bound as well in your city, and on lower terms, in which case it would be better to send them in quires. *Jefferson's Notes* and *Carver's Travels* I cannot procure without paying ready money for them; it therefore cannot

be worth my while to send them. Such as I print myself it is worth my while to push the sale of them. The *Selectæ e Veteri** and Paradise Lost shall be sent with the September Magazines in the Sloop Dove, Capt. Young master.

When you can do it with convenience, your account will be acceptable, as the former proprietors wish for a settlement, in which Mr Cist is interested, having served you with Magazines for the first twelve months, his demand for which is above twenty pounds of this currency.

I have this day received your favor of the 27th ult., with the antient view of the Colleges at Cambridge, which I shall hand to the engraver together with your instructions, and when he is done with the view will take care to return it carefully. The packet received some small damage by water. I however opened it carefully, and put the view to dry. The anecdotes of the late King of Prussia that you have been at the trouble of sending have already appeared in most of the newspapers printed in this city, for which reason am apprehensive they will not answer for the Magazine, unless we hazard its being observed that our Magazine is made up from the newspapers. This Mr Carey does; but he does not profess originality.

Agreeable to your desire I have inclosed a Magazine with your letter addressed to Mr Sergeant, and left it at the post office, as the only mode of conveyance I knew of.

I remain, respectfully, your obliged humble servant,

WILLIAM SPOTSWOOD.

P. S. I shall send a few lines to Capt. Young, who says he is to sail this day.

* *Selectæ e Veteri Testamento et e Profanis Scriptoribus Historiæ; Quibus sunt adjuncta, Catonis Moralia Disticha et G. Liliæ Pædagogica Monita.* It was edited by James Davidson, A. M., Professor in the Philadelphia Academy, and was published in Philadelphia. — Eds.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

PHILAD^A, Nov^r 5th, 1788.

DEAR SIR, — The difference of climate between Great Britain & the United States will render it unsafe to trust to any English publication upon the subject of brewing.

The best thing your friend could do would be to employ a person to tempt a reputable journeyman brewer from our city to take the direction of his brewery in Boston. To encourage him to persevere in his undertaking, you may inform him that the barley raised in your State is thought equal to the English barley, and that it is in great esteem among our brewers. I most heartily wish him success in his undertaking, altho' that success will lessen the exports of beer from our city to your State.

Spirituous liquors give way in every part of the United States to beer & cyder. But we must not relax in our publications against them. The *perseverance*, as well as the *arm* of Hercules, will be necessary completely to expel those monsters from our country.

I enclose you my reply to M^r Annan's attack upon me, mentioned in my last letter. I have made a few proselytes in our city. Many of the Quakers have long held my opinions upon the subject of murder. M^r Rittenhouse informed me a few days ago that he was not more satisfied of any truth in mathematicks or philosophy than [than] he was that it was wrong to punish murder by death.

I enclose you likewise a plan for a Fæderal University, to be republished (if you & Dr Lathrop see proper) in your papers.

Let us, my dear friend, follow the advice of an old divine to a young clergyman, "by doing all the good we can, by looking for persecution for *all* the good we do, & by learning to rejoice in persecution."

Adieu. Yours sincerely,

BENJⁿ RUSH.

P. S. Truth has at last prevailed upon the subject of our *penal* laws. A committee of our Assembly has been appointed to revise them. Private punishments by means of solitude & labor are now generally talked off.

RICHARD CARY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

Rev^d Mr — Belknap, Boston. To be left at Mr Miller's store, near the Market.

CHARLEST^N, Nov^r 21st, 1788.

REV^D & DEAR SIR,—Observe what you mention in your acceptable favour of M^r Woodbridge. It confirms what M^r Cary of Newburyport writes of him in a letter he brought me. From his character bel. he will suit this town as a preacher dureing M^r Morse's absence. I have spoke to him at the desire of the com^{tee} to supply next Sabbath and the Thanksgiving Day. He appears a worthy modest man. Any of your friends, or others, you are so good to recomẽnd, will always be treated with respect and affection by

Your obliged friend, &c.,

RICHARD CARY.

Rev^d Mr Belknap.

Freedom in friendship adds to the pleasures of it. As you are sensible, my endeavours will not be wanting to obtain M^r Morse. I send you copy of a letter I lately wrote the Rev^d M^r Paine, a particular acquaintance & neighbour of his father's, intimate with his son, who strongly recomended him to us.

CHARLESTOWN, Nov. 11, 1788.

REV^D & DEAR SIR,—This town has been lately so happy to have the Rev^d M^r Morse from New York, preaching a number of sermons to them. Your recommendation greatly excited the

* Richard Cary, born in Charlestown, Feb. 17, 1716-7, was a distiller, and a prominent man in the Charlestown church. He died in the early part of 1789. — Eds.

desires of the people to hear him. While he was here he tar-ryd in my family. His company afforded much satisfaction, and gave me a greater opportunity of forming a better judgement concerning him.

He discovers the pious Christian, as well as the judicious divine. His amiable, prudent, benevolent temper will always command him affection & esteem. He preachd upon the great doctrines of the Gospell in such a clear, evangelicall strain as to engage the closest attention & admiration of the congregation. His pleaseing manner and address brought fresh to our remembrance our late beloved young minister, gone to a better world, now the companion of angels, uniteing with them in their services and employments, before the throne.

The people in this town are so fond of Mr Morse they will, I doubt not, give him a unanimous call, which cant but be pleaseing to him. His acceptance of it will greatly promote peace and harmony here, so essentiall to the prosperity of any people. I will venture to say, nothing will be wanting on their part to make his life easy and happy, according to their ability.

My dear Sir, the affection & regard you have always shewn to this place gives us assureances you will not be wanting in your endeavours that we may obtain our wishes. Allow me to ask for an intrest in your prayers to the great Head of the Church, that he would give us such a minister as shall be instrumentiall in promoteing his glory and our best good.

I remain, & am, with affectionate salutations to you and your family, whom I wish every felicity, rev^d & dear Sir,

Your obliged friend & humble servant,

RICHARD CARY.

Rev^d Mr Joshua Paine, Sturbridge.

RICHARD CARY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Mr Belnap, Boston. To be left at Mr Miller's store, near the Market.

Tuesday Morn^g, 25th [Novem.], 88.

DEAR SIR, — Your last acceptable favour incloseing Mr Hazard extract from N. York is now before me. (Be so good to send my best thanks to him for it.) A kind

Providence appears; the Church met & was unanimous in their call for M^r Morse. Yesterday afternoon the whole Parish assembled. The congregation unanimously confirmed the vote of the Church. They unitedly proceeded to vote his salary, which was to give him a eleaven dollars a week (two more a week than they gave M^r Paine) & his firewood dureing life. When he comes to get a family they will build him a house, barn, & give him 20 cord of wood a year. Harmony prevaild. A comittee was choose to transmit him the votes. Your letter raised the joy to those who saw it; for I thot it best not to show it publickly before the salary was got thro^h. All appears easy & happy.

Now, my friend, does not this give new occasion or add to our joy & thankfullness on the approaching day of thanksgiving, — such a union in the parish & such a prospect of a good minister. Surely we cant be thankfull enough to the great Head of the Church.

M^r Woodbridge preacht last Sabbath to good acceptance. He is a worthy caracter; bel. we shall keep him till M^r Morse returns.

With affect. regards to M^{rs} Belknap, am

Your obliged friend, &c.,

RICHARD CARY.

Rev^d M^r Belknap.

WILLIAM SPOTSWOOD TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, 4th Dec^r, 1788.

DEAR SIR, — I have to acknowledge the receipt of your kind favors of the 18th and 24th of October last, and 5th of November. With respect to the errors that have escaped in De Sota and the Plutarch, I have nothing farther to say than that they have had two readings by me, and the last by M^r Dallas, to whom I have mentioned what you have observed. Let us have your errata as

early as possible. In proper names, unless understood, we are likely to make errors where the writing is not quite plain. I shall make no objections to leaving the Magazines @ 1/3, as I would much rather be the sufferer than you. Your acc^t corresponds nearly with mine, which I inclose to you, and on comparison you may perhaps find where the mistakes lie.

I have consulted with M^r Cist, and he has agreed with me to let the whole of the Magazines for 1787 to be sold at vendue; and I agree to let the remainder of the little consignments of books to go also in the same way, in order to close accounts. The Mags. remaining for 1788 had best not be sold by auction, as the want of odd n^{os} may render sets incomplete.

I am to discontinue printing the Magazine, or to be concerned in it farther than selling a few in the course of business, after the termination of this year; but have the pleasure to inform you that the engraver, M^r Trechard, has determined to continue it, with the flattering prospects of new resources, added to which he is a very active person for the business. He is to write you on the subject, and to intreat the continuance of your assistance. I shall ever gratefully remember your friendly exertions, without which I should not have persevered so long. Your favorable opinion with respect to my undertaking the editorship I am obliged by; but I am too sensible of my own deficiency in the necessary requisites to hazard such an undertaking.

I have given the necessary directions respecting the College, and will take care to forward you copies of the view when struck off, which will be with Dec^r Mag.

I am, with much respect,

Your obliged humble servant,

WILLIAM SPOTSWOOD.

Winthrop Sergeant, Esq., furnished the drawing of Campus Martius, with an account of it, and requested

that copies might be sent to several gentlemen, among which are Governor Bowdoin and Col. R. Platt. The latter gentleman's residence I cannot learn. If he is in your State, you will be so kind as to inclose one or two of the engravings to him, for which purpose I inclose you half a dozen.*

NOAH WEBSTER TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

MR. BELKNAP, SIR, — Should the publication of Winthrop's History proceed, the letter you mention would be a valuable addition, and also a letter from Charles II. to the Gov., in manuscript, which Mr Thom. Winthrop informs me is in the possession of his brother. I commit the manuscript to your care, on the indispensable condition that you do not suffer it to go out of your hands without my written order. Should it be published, I could wish you to superintend the business, omit any improper passages, make out a table or index, &c.

I expect to leave town tomorrow morning, or I would call on you in person. I will, however, send the books you mention by the first safe conveyance.

With great respect, I am, Sir, your obedient serv^t,

NOAH WEBSTER.

BOSTON, May 7th, 1789.

P. S. Twelve half sheets are printed; one of them is in the hands of Mr Thomas.

PAINE WINGATE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston. P. Wingate.

NEW YORK, May 12, 1789.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — With singular satisfaction I have received your favour of the 22^d ult^o, and assure you

* This memorandum, which is preserved with the foregoing letter, is written on a separate slip of paper. The engraving referred to is in the number of the Columbian Magazine for November, 1788. — Eds.

that my esteem and affection for you, formed from many years acquaintance, endears to me every communication from you as a token of your friendship. I sincerely sympathise with you & your family under your late affliction,* and think with you that the consolation which the Christian religion affords, and which you suggest that you have, is the best support. Indeed, it is a sufficient support, and one of those incomparable excellencies of the Gospel which a Christian parent must be very sensible of in such a day of tryal. I have a disposition, from the tender feelings of a father, though never in similar circumstances with yours, to dwell on this subject; but I forbear, considering that your own reflections & experience will better furnish the ideas.

Dear Sir, I fear that your expectation, and that of the public in general, will be raised *too high* respecting the new government. You will remember that Congress is but a collective body of men, men of like passions, subject to local prejudices & those byasses which in some measure are inseperable from human nature. I say this not to lessen their true merit, for I esteem them in general as very worthy characters, but not without considerable imperfections. I am lead into this train of thought from what I have had opportunity of observing already, especially in the prosecution of the impost bill. This is a very perplexing business. The discording interests of the different States will impress men differently. And tho' I would not atribute a base design to any, yet I may be justified in supposing that partiality & jealousy will blind & mislead some, & it will be next to impossible to harmonise the sentiments of all. The best we can hope for is an accommodating disposition in that which will be tollerably right. A large revenue is necessary, & the general opinion is that it is most expedient to raise it chiefly, if not wholly, by an impost. But to apply it im-

* Dr. Belknap's second son, Samuel, died March 28, 1789. — Eps.

partially to the several States is the great difficulty. The proposed duty on molasses is thôt too high by most of the New England members, & is peculiarly disagreeable to the Massachusetts, as laying a very unequal and oppressive tax on *them*. The Southern gentlemen dislike other duties, & think this very right. The matter is yet in dispute. I am inclined to beleive that the duties proposed are generally too high for true policy, and wish they may be reduced, at least for the present, and particularly that on molasses. My reasons are too many to state, & I will not trouble you further on this subject.

Much has been said in Congress, especially in the Senate, upon the subject of tittles for the President & Vice President. A majority in the House of Representatives appear against giving any title of address other than that mentioned in the Constitution. In the Senate there is a majority who are in favor of [a title] at least for the President. It has been reported [by a c]ommittee to style him "His Highness, the President [of the] United States & Protector of their Liberties." I rather think it will not be agreed to by both Houses. In consequence of this disagreement, the Senate have postponed as yet their making answer to the President's speech, which to the public may have a strange appearance. The President appears a most sensible and excellent man, & is actuated I believe by the purest motives of love to his country. He appears oppressed with the weight of his office, & I doubt not that it was with very painful reluctance he accepted it. Whether he will be able to retain his usual popularity, time must determine, but I am very much mistaken if he ever justly forfeits it. This week the Senate are to form themselves into three classes, agreeably to the Constitution, when I suppose by lot we shall determine the respective periods of our political existence. We have one Roman Catholic Senator from Maryland, who is a very worthy sensible man. He is

said to be the richest man in America, worth half a million sterling, but is as plain in his dress & manners, & as easy of access, as any man whatever. There is not that distinction observed here which there usually is occasioned by rank & property. And thô there are some very sensible men here, yet there is not that infinite difference in point of ability between men which without some acquaintance with them we are apt to conceive there is. I must now discontinue my writing in this abrupt manner by only adding that I am, with great esteem & affection, your friend & humble serv^t,

PAINE WINGATE.

Rev^d. Jeremy Belknap.

PAINE WINGATE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, July 6, 1789.

REV^d M^r. BELKNAP.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — I duely received, and with great satisfaction read, your favour of the 29th of May, as well as the discourse with which you was so kind as to accompany it. Had I so long neglected acknowledging a similar mark of friendship and kindness from some, I might justly have expected that the omission would have been viewed as faulty; but I am perswaded that your candour, and, I trust, your belief of my sincere affection for you, will induce you to accept of my apology. Althô, if you should judge from what has as yet publickly appeared to be done by Congress, you might be ready to think that I have time enough for private correspondence, yet I have not always found it so. When the hours of Congress are over, I am often in company, either at home or abroad, or have some business indispensable to attend to, or need some relaxation & amusement, whereby I am illy disposed to write. Besides, I recollect your observation that the doings of Congress which

are published you have come to your knowledge in another channel, & therefore wish only for any private anecdotes that might be worth relating. These I conceive do not occur often. There has as yet been a good harmony between the two houses, as well as between the respective members of each house, as could be expected. Whilst the impost bill was under consideration, there was sometimes suggested a jealousy respecting the different interests of the Northern & Southern States. But they were kept out of sight as much as possible, & every suggestion of the kind disapproved of by the prudent & moderate. I believe the rate of duties as finally agreed on is as impartial as could be expected, & that no great complaint will arise from any quarter. The check of the Senate has been in favour of the Eastern States. In the debates respecting titles the House of Representatives were generally in opinion against giving any; the majority of the Senate were of opinion that they were justifiable by the Constitution, & convenient, but were not disposed to be obstinate in the dispute. There is another question which I think will be likely to produce a dispute between the two houses, that is, who shall remove from office (if there is occasion) those who hold their places during pleasure. The Representatives have disputed that point warmly among themselves, & a majority are for vesting it solely in the President. I do not know how the Senate will determine on the question, but expect they will think the advice of the Senate proper for removal as well as appointment. If this should be the case, I think the adherence on both sides will be obstinate. I know that it is natural for the two branches of the Legislature to be jealous of each other, & tenacious of their own rights, and the Senate by reason of their long duration in office may in some future time be disposed to extend their powers as far as possible, & encroach upon the Executive, as well as other part of the Legis-

lative power; but at present I am perswaded there is no such disposition. And I believe that the people in general will often derive considerable advantages from the check of the Senate over so numerous a branch of government as the other house will consist of. Their decisions will sometimes be in danger of being tumultuous, & may be the sudden effects of heat & party. The Senate being a smaler & older body of men, & being appointed equally from the small & large States, will be more likely to be deliberate & impartial. This, you may say, is owing to my partiality. It may be so, & I will say no more about it. The theological part of your letter is very agreeable to my sentiments & very pleasing to me, but I can add nothing upon that subject which will be new to you. I thank you for your Sermon, which I have read with attention & pleasure, as I shall every communication from you. Please to make my compliments to M^{rs} Belknap, also to M^r Elliott & M^r Clarke. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you all well in Boston by the beginning of Sep^r, and am, with much affection & esteem, your very respectful friend & humble servant,

PAINÉ WINGATE.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

PHILAD^a, July 13th, 1789.

DEAR SIR, — M^r Hall, the printer, has neglected hitherto to republish the essay upon Spirits, probably from an opinion than [that?] it is less necessary than formerly. *Much* less rum will be used this year than last in this & the adjoining States of New Jersey, Delaware, & Maryland. From the influence of the Quakers & Methodists in checking this evil, I am disposed to believe that the business must be effected finally by religion alone. Human reason has been employed in vain, & the conduct of New England in Congress has furnished us with a mel-

ancholly proof that we have nothing to hope from the influence of *law* in making men wise and sober. Let these considerations lead us to address the heads & governing bodies of all the churches in America upon the subject. I have born a testimony (by particular desire) at a Methodist Conference against the use of ardent spirits, & I hope with effect. I have likewise written to the Roman Catholic Bishop, D^r Carroll, in Maryland, to set an association on foot against them in his society. I have repeatedly insisted upon a public testimony being published against them by the Presbyterian Synod of this city, and have suggested to our good Bishop, D^r White, the necessity of the Episcopal Church not standing neuter in this interesting business. Go thou, my friend, & in your circle of influence or acquaintance, "Do likewise."

You will find an essay upon the inutility of the Latin & Greek languages in the last number of the Museum, which has been ascribed to me. I wish it could be republished in Boston. It has some able advocates in this city, particularly D^r Franklin, M^r Clymer, & M^r Coxe.

Accept of my thanks for your kind inquiries respecting my health. Thro' divine goodness I have escaped, last spring, an attack of a disease in my lungs which for many years has visited me in different forms nearly every year. I am, however, still feeble, & by no means equal in point of bodily exertion to all my public and professional duties. I thank God I enjoy, notwithstanding, good spirits and the support of a hope which looks with composure, & sometimes with joy, beyond the grave.

I am now preparing an address to be delivered before the visitors of the Young Ladies Academy in this city at the next quarterly examination, "Upon the Necessity & Advantages of teaching Children to read by Means of the Bible." I consider this as a matter of more importance in the world than keeping up a regular Gospel ministry, & yet, strange to tell! there are religious men & even

ministers of the Gospel who disapprove of it. The great enemy of the salvation of man, in my opinion, never invented a more effectual means of extirpating Christianity from the world than by persuading mankind that it was improper to read the Bible at schools.

The more I attend to the methods in which education is conducted in our country, the more I am disposed to suspect that our schools & colleges do more harm than good to the interests of humanity, virtue, and religion. What are Latin & Greek, and mathematicks & philosophy, if they do not lead us nearer to the Parent of the universe and the Source & Centre of all perfection & happiness?

From, d^r Sir, yours sincerely,

BENJⁿ RUSH.

JOHN ADAMS TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, July 24, 1789.

DEAR SIR, — I have this morning received your letter of the 18th. George Chalmers I have seen in London. He is a Scot, who adventured to Maryland and practised law. When hostilities commenced he fled to the British army in N. York. He has much of the scornful, fastidious temper of his nation; has been a very bitter Tory; but is a laborious writer. There is no second volume of his Annals, and as he has had the art of obtaining some employment under the present Ministry, I suppose it probable that he will neither find profit nor pleasure to tempt him to labour longer at Annals.

Mr. Fenno asked my leave to publish the letters to Kalkoen, and I consented. There was never any other reason for printing them more than a dozen volumes of others but this, that the originals of them were on loose papers instead of proper letter books, and consequently in continual danger of being lost. Mr Jay has surprised me since I came here by shewing me six

folio volumes of my dispatches to Congress, recorded in a beautiful hand. He has taken the same prudent care of the dispatches of all the other American Ministers abroad, so that this branch of our history is well secured. Private letters, however, are often wanted as commentaries on publick ones, and many, I fear, will be lost, which would be necessary to shew the secret springs.

There are several circumstances, which I wish were preserved somewhere, of much importance to this end, which are in danger of being lost;—respecting the opposition to Bernard and Hutchinson and British Ministers and measures in the Massachusetts; to the formation of the union of the Colonies in 1774; to the organization of our army in 1775; to the negotiations in France and Holland; and to many other events.

Some of these ought not to be public, but they ought not to be lost. My experience has very much diminished my faith in the veracity of History; it has convinced me that many of the most important facts are concealed; some of the most important characters but imperfectly known; many false facts imposed on historians and the world; and many empty characters displayed in great pomp. All this, I am sure, will happen in our American history.

The idea that a party or faction should demolish thirteen established governments, and erect as many new ones in opposition to the sense of the people, and in opposition to large armies and powerful fleets, is ridiculous.

The anecdote of Baron de Kalb that you enquire after never came to my knowledge. De Kalb was in America before the war, and not long after the peace of 1763, but it was accidental, owing to shipwreck, as I have heard. Very probably he might make such a report, that the Americans were indissolubly attached to England, to the French Ministry; but I dont believe he was ever sent by them.

After the loss of Canada, the vast addition to the naval power and commercial advantages of England allarmed the French very much, and there is no doubt that the thought of assisting the British Colonies to throw off the yoke occurred to them, as the loss of America now rankling in the hearts and tingling in the veins of the English nation is every day suggesting to them projects of assisting the Spaniards of South America to separate from Spain. Monsieur Le Roi, a French Accademician, who had been acquainted with Dr Franklin in England, upon introducing him at Paris to some members of the Accademy of Sciences, said, “Voila Monsieur Frankland, qui est de ce pays la en Amerique qui nous debarrassera un jour de ces Anglais.” This Le Roi told me in presence of Franklin, who said he remembered it very well. This sentiment, I doubt not, had its influence in procuring Franklin to be elected a member of that Accademy. But it was a vague tho’ general presentiment, and no explicit advances were ever made to him or any one else by the French Court till 1775.

I shall have more occasion for apology than you have, if I proceed. The oftener you write me, and the more you enquire of me, the more you will oblige, Sir, your most obedient,

JOHN ADAMS.

The Rev^d Mr Belknap.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO BENJAMIN RUSH.

BOSTON, July 29, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — The originality & independence of sentiment in your letters & other writings render them exceedingly grateful to me, although I am obliged sometimes to withhold my assent to what you deliver; but when your thoughts coincide with my own, there is generated a double satisfaction. On the several sub-

jects touched upon in your last of the 13th inst., I could write a pamphlet if it were necessary, they having been frequently the theme of my contemplation.

With respect to spirituous liquors I believe some good has been done, but much more remains to be done. The distilleries here are so ready a source of gain, that, till the *auri sacra fames* shall cease to be a ruling passion, I fear there will no end be put to them. The demand from abroad I am told increases, particularly from the north of Europe, & while the stills are kept going there will be a large home consumption. In an excursion of about 80 miles into the country a few weeks since, I met many loads of pot & pearl ashes coming down, & on my return the teams which I met were loaded with dry fish, hogs-heads of salt, & barrels of rum. The thirst for spirits in the back country is so ardent, that in the fall & winter they will sell their wheat for this sort of pay, & then in the spring & summer following go 40 or 50 miles after bread. However, we do what we can by way of precept & example, & we do not intend to be discouraged.

What you say on the use of the Bible in schools agrees perfectly well with my own idea, &, "strange to tell," I have been obliged to controvert this point with men who in other respects are laudably zealous & exemplary in the cause of religion & virtue. I am glad you are writing on the subject, & hope I shall have the pleasure of seeing what you write. But, my dear Doctor, why banish Latin & Greek? Was not the New Testam^t written in Greek? & may not the Greek & Latin Testaments & the *Selectæ e Veteri*, &c., lately reprinted in Phil^a & used in the schools there, have as happy an effect in impressing the minds of youth with religious sentiments as the English Bible? I have not seen what you refer to in the Museum. The names w^h you have cited as "able advocates" for the disuse of Latin & Greek are truly respectable. I could also cite some very "able advocates" for

the disuse of the Bible in schools; but both are cases which require to be decided by their own merits, & not by the respectability of advocates, though they may induce a more critical examination of the merits, since it must be presumed that such gentlemen will not patronise an opinion of so much consequence without very good reasons. I can conceive, & am by my own experience & observation persuaded, that, by a judicious attention to students while they are learn^g the Biblian Greek & Latin, there may arise such a variety of questions and observations as may not only make the study entertaining but instructive, & that they may by gentle degrees be led into an acquaintance with & veneration for the character & work of our blessed Savior at the same time that they are reciting the language in which his Evangelists & Apostles wrote, or into w^h their works have been translated.

That schools & colleges may be better conducted than at present I am fully persuaded. It is, however, difficult, & in some cases impracticable, to alter old foundations, but were I to be consulted in the establishment of a *new* college, I should utterly discard the residing of the students in barracks, their eating in common, & the establishment of academical discipline separte from municipal law. I would have students reside in sober, decent families, & be under the same government with their fellow citizens. At stated hours they should resort to the public rooms to perform their exercises, & they should receive the honours of the University when they are qualified. Are not your universities upon some such plan? Ours partakes too much of the nature of a monastic institution, &, like an antique building, needs many subsidiary props & additional repairs. However, there are great advantages to be reaped by an education in it, provided the students give their minds to their business, & without that no means will be effectual. There is a special injunction

laid on the Professors to take frequent occasion to introduce reflections on the Being, Perfections, & Providence of the Creator, & I believe this injunction is strictly attended to, as well by the Professor of N. P. as those of Anatomy & Botany, & these occasions perpetually occur, for

“There’s not a plant or flower that grows
But makes his glories known. . . .
While clouds arise & tempests blow
By order from his throne.”

The main business of all philosophical researches is to fix our attention to the great “Cause uncaus’d,” & the deeper we penetrate the arcana of Nature, the more reason do we find for wonder, love, & praise.

Indorsed, “Copy to Dr Rush.”

PAINE WINGATE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, Augt 1, 1789.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — Your favour of July 18 has been received, and demands of me an acknowledgement for those affectionate expressions of esteem & friendship which it contains. May our mutual love long continue, increase, & be productive of good fruits.

The respect which you express for Congress and their doings reminds me of those sentiments of veneration & attachment for government which once were universally prevalent in this country. Perhaps that unbounded confidence in those who steer the political ship may be best as it respects the bulk of the people; but I hope there will always be wise, firm, & virtuous citizens who will watch the public measures, & not be blind to the errors or fail to censure the misdoings of their governors. This, & this alone, can preserve rational liberty. The lust of power is natural to man, & rulers have their imperfections

& their vices as well as others. I say not this to disparage that body to which I have the honor to belong. I believe it to consist of worthy, sensible, & honest men in general, & not governed by aspiring or sordid views, but I do not find that vast difference between men that we are ready [to] think there is before some experience & observation of them. The President, I think, is very justly admired for his consummate prudence, & the goodness of his heart manifested in his love to his country, and we may expect everything from him which a good President can do. Congress have been rather slow in their progress, but the road they had to travel was new & filled with obstructions. I think, when the habits of doing Congressional business are more formed, we shall be more expeditious. You seem to be surprised at my suggesting an expectation of returning in Sep^r, & ask if it is to be an adjournment? I hope so. It appears now to be the prevailing opinion that many good purposes may be answered by our going home for about three months, & postponing until we return such business as will admit of delay. What is immediately indispensable I hope by that time will be dispatched.

I received the enclosed paper with your letter containing proposals for printing, &c.; I shewed it to the Vice President & Senators, & most of those present subscribed, including the list of names as far as Mr. King. The remaining part of the subscribers are all members of the other House. I conclude that you will be able to ascertain their places of abode. Dr. Johnson observed to me that, thô he should subscribe, yet he doubted the expediency or propriety of publishing the whole Journal of Governor Winthrop; that he understood from the late Governor Trumble there were many things in it of a trivial nature, & such as would be injurious to the memory of the author & wound the feelings of his friends; and that the most valuable parts had already been ex-

tracted & published. I mention this only that you may be informed of the D^{rs} sentiment, & you will judge & act as you shall think proper. I mentioned the subscription paper to the Postmaster General. He told me that he had subscribed some time ago, & supposed that M^r Webster had obtained all the subscriptions that were to be had among the citizens. I therefore shewed the paper to none but members of Congress. If the small number which I have obtained will be of any service, or gratify your wishes, I shall be happy in being the instrument. I am sorry that Mr. Tappan is involved again in a dispute with Mr. Spring. I think it will make him a great deal of trouble for little or no good. I wish they did not think so much alike as I conceive they do, & then I believe M^r Tappan might manage his antagonist to better advantage.

I am very glad that M^r Smith has succeeded thro' your kind offices in obtaining his degree.

The bill which you enquire concerning is, I believe, reported in the House of Representatives, but has not yet been taken up & considered in either house. The revenue laws have commanded the attention of Congress as most necessary, & now the judicial bill will next be attended to. But the shorter bills will soon be passed, when the other is out of the way. I am in opinion with you, that the public libraries are proper repositories where may be preserved printed papers similar to the Journals of Congress, which in time may be found in very few hands. At present the journals of the old Congress are so disposed of that there are very few, if any, setts remaining in the Secretaries' Office, so that your proposal could not be complied with without a new impression, which I hardly think worth while. The new journals might easily be deposited in the manner you mention. The Executives of each State always have the journals & laws sent to them, & they are preserved by the re-

spective Secretaries. I think of nothing remarkable to communicate to you. I desire my compliments to M^{rs} Belknap, & to my good friends M^r Elliott & M^r Clark, and am very affectionately your friend & humble servant,

PAINÉ WINGATE.

Rev^d M^r Belknap.

MICHAEL JOY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston. Cap^t Scott.

LONDON, 7 Aug^t, 1789.

SIR, — A few days after my arrival I communicated to M^r Dilly the contents of the letters I received from you & M^r Hazard on the eve of my departure from America. An author having printed & published abroad has no exclusive copyright in the work in Great Britain, consequently can vest none in any bookseller here; but every person may of right republish in this kingdom a book printed abroad. This will apply to both your intended publications. It is the opinion of M^r Dilly, that a sufficient number of copies of the History could not be vended here to defray the expence of printing, &c. Some, however, would sell, & when you have published the 2^d volume, if you incline to consign a number of sets to him, he will do what he can for your advantage. How far the Foresters would take with the public here, no judgement can be formed before the completion of the work.

Dilly is a man of candour, & you may confide in him. I would therefore recommend your corresponding directly with him on the subject. At the same time I shall most readily contribute anything in my power to promote a work I wish accomplished. The History as a depôt of

* Michael Joy was a native of Boston, where he was born Sept. 15, 1754, and graduated at Harvard College in 1771. Subsequently he went to England, and in 1816 he was elected a Corresponding Member of the Historical Society. He continued to live abroad, in London and at other places, until his death, July 10, 1825. — Eds.

State Papers will be usefull to some, but as it developes the opinions & mind of man thro' the interesting period of which you treat it interests all. There is, you must be sensible, a fashion in reading; the present rage, next to politics, is for natural history. The more of this, therefore, you introduce, the more will you attract the present class of readers. Topographical descriptions, remarks on the climates, soils, minerals, marine productions, indigenous vegetables, & animals, are sought for & read with eagerness. I think I mentioned to you the pleasure I received from "the account of the White Mountain." A full account of the aborigines of N. Hampshire would be a most desireable & interesting, as well as natural, appendix to the History.

With cordial wishes for its success, I am, Sir,

Very faithfully y^{rs},
M. JOY.

Mr. J. Belknap.

JOHN PINTARD TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

The Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, care of Mr Sam^l Blagge, Boston. With a bundle of books.

NEW YORK, 26th August, 1789.

REVEREND SIR,—I am safely arrived in this city with my good woman, & with pleasure reflect on the many agreeable acquaintances I have made during my journey from home. I do not, like ordinary travellers, mark my stages by the inns I have stop'd at, or the bills of fare presented to me, but rather by the friends I may have formed & the characters to whom I have been introduced.

* John Pintard was born in New York, May 18, 1759, and was educated at Princeton College. During the Revolution he served on several military expeditions, and was afterward Deputy Commissary for American prisoners. After the war he engaged in business, and took an active interest in public affairs and in various philanthropic undertakings. He was one of the founders of the Tammany Society, as well as of the New York Historical Society, and was zealous in preserving the materials of history, and especially in promoting the study of American history. He died in New York, June 21, 1844. (See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. v. pp. 27, 28.) — Eds.

Permit me, good Sir, to say that I consider the personal acquaintance with the author of the History of N. Hampshire among the happiest circumstances attending my visit to Boston. I shall with great pleasure return your civilities in this place to yourself, or any particular friend you may wish to reccommend to me. Any services that I can be of, you may freely command. I wish there were any inducements on my part to render a closer intimacy an object worthy your cultivation, but I know of no other than the benefit you may derive from commonplace civilities, & these you shall always be heartily welcome to.

Agreeable to my promise, I send by Capt. Barnard to the care of Mr Blagge the 2 vols. of Clavigero's History of Mexico, which may afford you some amusement. I am so far choice of my books as not to wish to see them abused, but do no[t] object against lending them to my friends. You need not hurry yourself in the reading, & if Mr Winthrop wishes to look in them he may find some improvement on Purchas's description of the Mexican hieroglyphics. I wish to contribute my aid towards his decyphering the Dighton Rock, but I apprehend it impossible.

I acquired thrô unremitted perseverance Morton's Memorial at Providence, & Church's History in R. Island. I beg'd Mr Clark to obtain these works for me. You will be kind en° to acquaint him that I am provided, but shall claim his promise of the Merry Cobler of Agawam. I thank your son for his copy of Josey Green's Parody, & whenever you furnish me with Byles's reply I will send the whole to Carey for publication in his Museum.* I wish also you would relate the anecdote, to serve as an introduction, for I fear least I have forgot some of the particulars. I understand that Dr Ramsay's Hist^y is to come out this fall in 2 8^{vo} vols., which will be more inter-

* See Mr. Belknap's letter to Ebenezer Hazard, dated Aug. 28, 1780, in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. pp. 70-73. — Eds.

esting than Gordon's crude indigested narrative. I hope that Thomas may favor the public with Gov^r Winslow's Journal soon, as it is high time. I trust the sale of it may encourage him to undertake Hubbard's MS., as I am extremely anxious to multiply copies of our original historians.

Be pleased to present my respects to your neighbour, M^r Clark, M^r Morse, & M^r Winthrop, when you see them, also to your good lady & your little Freshman. I hope I did not wound his sensibility by my untimely observation at your table. With my best wishes for your happiness & prosperity, I am with great respect, your friend,

JOHN PINTARD.

Humble servant is rather an
antirepublican phrase.

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d M^r Belknap.

DEAR SIR, — It is sometimes the case that a person will appear whimsical when he hath good reasons for his conduct. It is often the case that a person *thinks* he hath good reasons when his friends will think him odd and peculiar, being without his prejudices, or ignorant of some little circumstances wh. have weight in his mind.

I must beg you as a friend to put the best construction upon my conduct when I say that my determination has been fixed these several years to be no more cloathed with academical honors. I am unhappy in giving the least uneasiness to my friends. D^r Dexter & you are among the first in my esteem & affection. In most cases I should be guided by your judgment, and trust I shall not suffer in the opinion of either tho' I deviate from it in this instance. I think I am doing right. I may be wrong.

I have written to Mr Arnold, & accepted my place as corresponding member of the Society for abolishing the A. Slavery, and am very glad you are a member. It is an affair of humanity, in wh. we can all be serviceable.

Your sincere friend & much obliged humble servant,

JOHN ELIOT.

Indorsed by Dr. Belknap, "Aug^t, 1789."

MATHEW CAREY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev. Jeremy Belknap, Boston. A single letter. Post paid.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 16, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—At the commencement of the American Museum, you were kind enough to offer your assistance as an occasional correspondent; a proposal which, as unessential to the plan of the work, I then thought it necessary to decline.

However, at present, if you are as favourably disposed as you were then, I should be happy to avail myself of your abilities as your avocations and inclination might allow.

The kind of composition which I would prefer is attended with little or no trouble,—requires little study and less time,—and w^d in all probability prove as satisfactory to the generality of readers as elaborate philosophical dissertations.

The kind I mean is such short scraps, hints, and effusions as constitute the principal part of the Gentleman's Magazine, printed in London. One generally gives rise to two or three; and they keep attention awake, & give life & spirit to that work.

To shorten the business, and at once come to the point, I think it advisable to mention what I can afford to give for communications of this description. It will rest with you to decide whether the terms are worth your acceptance.

For each piece, be it ever so short, I should allow one dollar, and I would wish to have 4 or 5 monthly.

The whole 4 or 5 need never exceed two or three pages. Indeed, in their brevity, I shall regard a part of their merit to consist.

The premium you will say is small, — very small. True. But is not the trouble requisite proportionably small? To me it appears that any person of reading, capable of expressing his ideas on paper, would find little or no difficulty in writing four or five such pieces as I wish in a day.

I would allow an ample field to range in. Subjects might be drawn from the ancient and modern history of this country, the state of its copper-coloured inhabitants, agriculture, commerce, trade, &c, &c. But to elucidations of American antiquities I should give a preference.

Although I presume that you would send no piece unfit for the Museum, yet I would wish it understood that I should have a power of judging and deciding on the fitness of each production, & not be obliged to pay for any but such as might be inserted. However, you need be under no apprehensions of a disagreeable or frequent use of this power.

Should this proposition meet your approbation, as I hope & trust it will, I request to have a double portion for the first month, & that they may be forwarded as speedily as possible.

For the regular payment of the sum stipulated I shall appropriate a principal part of the Boston subscriptions.

The enormous expences I lie under for support of the Museum, & the shameful irregularity of paying the subscriptions, would not, you may rest assured, warrant me in offering a higher sum than what I have mentioned.

With wishes for your happiness, [I] subscribe myself,
your ob^t h^{ble} serv^t,

MATHEW CAREY.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO MICHAEL JOY.*

BOSTON, 4 Nov., 1789.

DEAR SIR, — I thank you for your kind favor of 7 Aug. p Scott, & for the interest which you take in the success of my literary works. I sent, or rather got M^r Eliot to send, 48 copies of my 1st vol. to M^r Longman, of which 2 were by my desire presented to the editors of the Reviews, & I had an acc^o of 19 sold. The charges upon the whole were deducted out of the sales of them & the net proceeds remitted. The remainder are in his hands, & I have not heard from him for near three years. I wish the account with him may be settled, & have therefore got an order from M^r E. w^{ch} I have inclosed, as you see, & should be much obliged by your calling on him when it is convenient. If there is any balance due, please to receive it, & keep it in your hands till you hear again from me, & let the remaining books be deposited with M^r Dilly, taking a rec^t of him, w^h please to send to me. Inclosed I have written to him, as you advised me.

I am much obliged by the hints which you have given me respecting my continuation. The parts w^h you represent as likely to be rec^d wth most avidity are such as are most agreeable to me to write; & as I have now entered on the work in earnest, I intend to pursue it as fast as I can gain time & materials, the latter of which I am endeavouring to collect from all quarters.

As to the Foresters, I wish nothing may be said. I shall suspend it for the present, since there is no prospect of a sale of the copy in England.

To Michael Joy, Esq.

* Printed from Mr. Belknap's rough draft. — Eds.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO CHARLES DILLY.*

BOSTON, Nov. 4, 1789.

SIR, — By the recommendation of my worthy friend, Mr Joy, I wish to put into your hands for sale as there may be opportunity some copies of the first volume of my History of New Hampshire, & when the 2^d vol. shall be printed I will send you as many copies of it as may be proper. I wish to know your opinion concern^g a subscription for it. I do not mean to collect any money of subscribers previous to the delivery of books, but merely to ascertain the number w^{ch} may be necessary to send. The work is not yet printed, nor wholly written, but I am going on with it as fast as I can, & hope to get it out in the course of the next year.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Dilly.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO MATHEW CAREY.†

Bo., 10 Nov^r, 1789.

D^R SIR, — Y^{rs} of Oct. 16 found me under the influenza, or, as 'tis here called, the Washington cold, because it made its first appearance in the wet weather w^{ch} happened at y^e time of the President's visit to this place. I am now recovered.

I am always "favourably disposed" to promote literary works, & have shewn myself ready to serve you when occasion presented & no reward was offered. In answer to your proposal, let me say, that the kind of composition w^{ch} you request, tho' it may seem to require "little study & less time," yet must require attention & judgment, & may lead to investigations w^{ch} may prove "elaborate."

* This is printed from a rough draft, on the same sheet with the draft of the letter of the same date to Mr. Joy. — EDS.

† This letter is printed from the rough draft kept by Mr. Belknap. — EDS.

For instance, a hint or query such as commonly appear in the Gentleman's Magazine must be answered, & if no body else appears to answer it, it will be necessary for your querist to do it himself, or, if anything should be s^d by another person w^{ch} is wrong or imperfect, it should be set right in a subsequent essay. Thus the attention of readers will be kept up, & the merit of the work increased. What is every body's business, you know, is no body's, & therefore it will be for your interest to have some person engaged to see y^t hints, queries, &c. are properly attended to. I do not say this with a view to discourage you, but only to introduce a farther proposal in addition to yours.

Viz., "for each piece, be it ever so short," of original composition or compilation less than one page, 1 dollar.

For each piece do. w^{ch} shall fill one page or more, 2 doll^s per page.

For every transcript from any other publication $\frac{1}{3}$ doll^r per page.

If this proposal suits you, I will engage as you desire, & will begin as soon as you please. I can have no objection to your judging what is, or is not, proper to be inserted; it is essential to the office of an editor, but this must be an express stipulation, that, if any thing should be sent w^{ch} is not judged proper to be inserted, it shall be returned as speedily as possible, without being copied or any use being made of it.

I shall also expect y^t a copy of each Museum be sent me free of charge as soon as possible after it is published, & y^t you bear all expence of postage of letters.* Had my friend H.† been continued at the head of the P. Office, I should not have been obliged to, make this request, but perhaps your connection with M^r Hastings, the P. M. here, who I understand is likely to continue in office, may serve you in this respect.

* The letter from Mr. Carey, to which this is an answer, is marked on the outside in Mr. Carey's hand, "A single letter. Post paid." The postage was apparently twenty-five cents. — Eds.

† Mr. Hazard. — Eds.

I think it probable, as M^r H. is at present out of business, you may avail y^rself of his abilities & collections for the supply of y^e Museum.

JOHN SULLIVAN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Reverend M^r Jeremiah Belknap, at Boston.

DURHAM, Decem^r 9th, 1789.

DEAR SIR, — I am honored with yours of the first instant, & am much mortified that I had not the pleasure to see you in your way through Durham, which my absence from home at the time prevented.

I rejoice that you have again taken up the subject of the History of New Hampshire, & will make it a point to procure you liberty to take copies from the Secretary's Office, & will obtain for you such laws & journals as are in print. I will also call on the general officers to furnish the number of men in the several corps they command; & to assist you in determin[in]g the number of regiments of horse & foot, I inclose you the register of the last year, there being none published, or likely to be published, for the present year, and will deem myself happy to contribute everything in my power to assist you in the good work, and as you have been so good as to open the plan, I will, as occasion presents, furnish you with the best information I can obtain. I shall be able at the session of the General Court this winter to furnish you with the exact boundaries of New Hampshire as lately ran out according to the Treaty of Paris, which adds near thirty thousand acres to this State, & with that will furnish you with some material information relating to the Allen claims & the curve line, and give hints of persons who will be most likely to enter into a correspondence with you & prove themselves capable of giving you such infor-

mation as you wish to obtain. Permit me to assure you, my dear Sir, that nothing can give me greater pleasure than the receiving your commands, and thereby having an opportunity of proving to you with how much attachment and esteem I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient & very humble servant,

JN^o SULLIVAN.

Rev^d M^r Belknap.

MATHEW CAREY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev. Jeremy Belknap, Boston.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec^r 10, 1789.

9 P. M. mail almost closed.

DEAR SIR, — Your letter in answer to my proposal came safe to hand. I accede to *your* proposals; but it appears to me that two dollars per page are rather high for pieces exceeding one page.

There is one remark in your letter which I do not perfectly understand. You say your terms are *in addition* to mine, whereas they appear to me to supersede mine altogether.

I have sent you a short acc^t of M^r Cushing & M^r Chauncy, per a late vessel, with 11 Museums, which I wish (if necessary) corrected & returned. Biography will be particularly acceptable.

I remain, dear Sir, yours in haste,

M. CAREY.

JEREMIAH LIBBEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

PORTSMOUTH, Decem^r 17th, 1789.

DEAR SIR, — I rec^d your favours of November 20th and of the 8th instant, but have been so very sick since that I could not attend to answer them; have now got so much better that I shall attend to them. The law books

in sheets will accompany this. I cannot find that the Journals of the Assembly was regularly printed. I call'd on Secretary Peirson yesterday at Exeter, and he says they were not, but that he has them (he thinks in his office) in manuscript, and that he will muster them up, and will let me have them to forward to you, you to return them again as soon as you have done with them. I believe I can procure an account of the number of inhabitants that were in Portsmouth a few years ago; will attend to it, & forward it if to be obtain'd; will also enquire respecting the bills of mortality.

Inclosed is your note renewed, and the certificates for the interest.

The common allowance of rum to labourers here is half a pint Ψ day, which has been the rule or custom as long as I can remember. There are several persons in this town that are endeavouring to abolish the custom by giving them more wages in lieu of the *allowance*, as it is call'd; but the custom is so rooted that it is very difficult to break it. The attachment is so great, that in general if you were to offer double the price of the allowance in money it would not be satisfactory to the labourers, and altho' that is the case & it is the ruin of them and familys in many instances. Yet there is considerable might be said in excuse for those very persons when it is considered how they are in general bro't up, and untill a substitute of beer or some other drink is introduced in general, it will be difficult to get over it.

I am, dear Sir, with much respect, your hum. servant,

JEREMIAH LIBBEY.

The original note was	£19.19
You have now inclosed a note for	14.8
A certificate for	3.11.2
A do.	17.8
A do.	17.4

You will recollect that some of the interest and part of the principle of the 19.19 was taken out of the Treasury before you sent me the note.

Indorsed by Mr. Belknap, "Allowance of Rum to labour^e pple in Portsm^o."

PAINE WINGATE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Reverend Jeremy Belknap, Boston. P. Wingate.

NEW YORK, Jan. 18, 1790.

REV^d & DEAR SIR,—I have received your favour of the 9th instant, and agreeably to your request have forwarded the letter to D^r Rush. That to M^r Hazard I will deliver to-day. With respect to public securities I will gladly give you any intelligence in my power, as well to gratify your curiosity as to shew kindness to the female friend you speak of; but I can say nothing at present but mere conjecture. Those securities have not sold for less than 8/3^d on the pound in New York since I came here; and I am told that now they are sold from 9 to 10/, and that the indents are about 7/. The Secretary of the Treasury has reported a part of his plan of finance, that the domestic debt should be funded anew to voluntary subscribers at 4 p^r cent interest & include equally both principle & interest. This it is supposed would appreciate the securities considerably. I think it is doubtful whether the interest will be more than 3 p^r cent, but a certain revenue will be appropriated for the punctual payment of whatever shall be promised. At this rate of interest, it is the opinion of those who are good judges that the securities will sell for about ten shillings on the pound. I believe that there is no great danger of their being much lower, & they may possibly be something higher. It will be yet a considerable time before this business will be compleated in Congress respecting

the new funds, & in the mean time there will be various arts of speculators practiced on one another, as well as on the less knowing. If I was a holder of public securities (which I am not) I should not sell until I knew more of the probable issue of the present plans; but perhaps it may be as advantageous to those who do not choose to be holders in the funds to sell soon after the funds are established as at any after time. This is only my mere opinion, in which I am as liable to be deceived as any body. I am not able to give you any tolerable account of Col^o Hamilton's plans, & will not attempt it. By the last of this week, it is expected, the pamphlet will be published. I am sorry that you are infested at Boston with such kind of priests as you speak of, but think they cannot prevail much among an enlightened people. I am told that there has been a most extraordinary spirit of fanaticism prevailing last week in this city among the people called Methodists, but hope it will not spread like the influenza. I can only add at present my affectionate compliments to M^{rs} Belknap, & that I am with peculiar esteem your friend & humble servant,

PAINE WINGATE.

Rev^d M^r Belknap.

PAINE WINGATE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston.

NEW YORK, Feb. 5, 1790.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — I have received your favour of January 13th, and agreeably to your desire have forwarded your enclosure to M^r Carey. His Museum will accompany this, which I have read with pleasure, and think the most valuable production of the kind which I have seen printed in America. The bill for securing the copyright to authors is now before the House of Representatives. I have not seen it, and cannot judge of any

imperfections that may be in it. I shall very gladly contribute whatever is my power to have it amply safe to reward the labours & ingenuity of the literati; but I can easily conceive the difficulty of guarding against the evils which you suggest, without infringing on the right which the public possesses of making use of quotations, extracts, &c. from printed books. I hope, however, that the privilege & encouragement to authors will be the best that the nature of the case will admit, & that it will speedily be compleated to your satisfaction. Since I wrote to you last, the current price of securities has rather dwindled. I am told they now sell for about 7/6^d on the pound. This may have arisen from other causes than meerly the want of confidence in the public faith. It will be a considerable time before Congress can decide on this perplexing and important business; but next Monday it will be taken up by the House of Representatives, and perhaps some conjecture may be formed from the disposition which will then appear. It appears to me that matters have gone so far wrong that it is not an easy thing to find the right way out, and that men of the most upright intentions, who would wish to unite justice with policy, may judge & act very differently. I rather think, on the whole, that the public creditors will receive as good as half the nominal value of their securities, if not more, & that there can be no discrimination between the original holders & the speculators, however deserving the one may be more than the other. Very little business has yet been compleated in Congress. We go *slow* fast enough.

I have nothing remarkable to add. I desire my compliments to M^{rs} Belknap & Parson Clarke, and am with great esteem your affectionate friend & humble servant,

PAINE WINGATE.

Rev. Jer^y Belknap.

JOHN SULLIVAN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

*The Reverend Mr Belknap at Boston.*DURHAM, Feb^y 23^d, 1790.

DEAR SIR, — In looking over your favor of the 23^d of December I find some things which I should have answered did I not flatter myself that I should soon be able to give answer to many of your enquiries which I now find cannot be done at so early a period as I expected. You will therefore excuse my taking upon me at this time only to answer some of your enquiries which I neglected to answer in season, for the reasons I have mentioned. You will therefore please to note that the land between the strait line at sixty miles from the sea & the curve line has been run, the proprietors under Allen giving up to the State all the lands beyond the streight line, & the State has sold the whole of it to the Masonian proprietors, & they have also compromised the dispute with the heirs of Allen so far as respects eleven of the Lord Proprietors, so called, out of fifteen. The line between this State & the Province of Main has been surveyed the last year, and also the lands beyond the line of 45 to that pointed out by the Treaty of Paris, & it is found that there is about one hundred and thirty-three thousand acres gained to this State by the new limits. The plans & other papers are much at your service in the Secretary's Office. The lands are now advertized for sale in townships or smaller quantities; and I have no doubt but you may by application have a handsome present out of it for the trouble you have taken to give the History of this State. I will use every effort in my power to bring it about, you first sending to my care a petition for the purpose, which I will lay before the General Court. The charter of Whitefield is not lost. All the books of charters are returned; and that town among many others

is reported to the Attorney General for not fulfilling the conditions of their charter, but no prosecution is yet begun, as I have heard, and I hope that you will not be robbed of this small pittance. The twenty-five regiments make about seven hundred men each on an average; the alarm list, light horse, & artillery, about seven thousand more.

D^r Sir, I have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

JN^o SULLIVAN.

Rev^d M^r Belknap.

PAINE WINGATE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, March 6, 1790.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — I received your favours, one of Feb. 13, by M^r Cutler, and the other of Feb. 17, p^r post, and agreeably to your request forwarded the enclosed papers to M^r Carey. I now enclose to you a bill reported to the House of Representatives for securing to authors their copyright, &c. It has not yet been considered, & probably will not be passed by Congress for some time, as other matters of considerable moment are now before them. Whenever it shall come before the Senate, (unless the provisions you mention in your letter, & which I think are very reasonable, should be inserted in the other House,) I will endeavour, so far as I have any influence, to obtain the amendments. In your letter by M^r Cutler you ask of me a service I am poorly able to perform. I commonly have to write in a hurry, & suggest my thôts in a very imperfect manner. I never was a member of the Legislature in New Hampshire, unless the Congress at Exeter in 1775 could be called one, where I attended not long, & have had but little opportunity of knowing the public proceedings of that State respecting

Vermont. The ground on which N. H. considered the territory on the west of Cont^t River (as I have understood it) to belong to them was, that, after running the line between Massa. & N. H., New Hampshire was directed to keep up the garrison & protect the frontiers on that side of the river, & Gov^r Wentworth was by his instructions permitted to grant the lands there, which implied the right of jurisdiction. But when the King in Council annexed that part to N. Y., it was supposed the jurisdiction was legally changed, and the eastern part of N. H. had no great objection, as by this time they began to be jealous that the western parts by their increase would soon overballance & govern the politicks of the eastern, without affording aids to the government sufficient to compensate for that inconvenience. Those on the eastern side of Cont^t River & near it had a different interest & wish. They wanted the western side of the river to add to their strength & importance. Of course, when Vermont, disgusted with N. Y. for their abuses of them, were determined not to submit to their government, & N. H. not being desirous to keep them, at the Revolution they set up for independency. Still the eastern side of the river were struggling to have them annexed to N. H. To effect this, they claimed a right to indepen[den]cy also. This they grounded on a principle, that by breaking off from G. B. they were reduced to a state of nature, & had a right to form a social compact in any manner that was for their own convenience & interest. But their principle object was to induce N. H. to claim & receive the Vermonters as a part of their State. The eastern part of Vermont wished for this also. But if they could not joyn N. H., they wished to have two tier of towns on the eastern side of the river to joyn them, in order that the seat of government and the weight of numbers might be on the eastern side of the Green Mountains. This is the light in which I have considered the proceedings

respecting Vermont. Gen^l Bellows of Walpole, & many others in N. H., can give you a much more circumstantial & correct account of the matter. I have now the pleasure to inform you that the commissioners of N. Y. & Vermont are at this time in treaty, & probably will in a few days adjust their disputes, & the latter, it is expected, will during the present session of Congress be admitted as an independent State in the Union. As to the confiscation of estates, I suppose you mean in N. H. I know very little about them. I can neither tell you who were the promoters or opposers of that business. I have always heard that the confiscations in N. H., instead of being an advantage, were a considerable expence to the State. Nobody reaped any profit by them unless the trustees, who had the opportunity of paying themselves very well for their services. I am very glad to find that you are prosecuting your design of writing a History of N. H. I wish you health & spirit to go thro' the laborious task, & that you may meet with a just reward for your toils by the grateful approbation of the public & an extensive sale of your History. The funding system goes on very slow, but I presume it will be accomplished. You will see by the newspapers what is doing better than I can tell you. I can only add my compliments to M^{rs} Belknap, & that I am, with great esteem & affection,

Your friend & hu^{ble} servant,

PAINE WINGATE.

Rev. M^r Belknap.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Rev^d M^r Jeremy Belknap, one of the Ministers of Boston.

PHILAD^a, May 5th, 1790.

DEAR SIR, — Herewith you will receive thirteen copies of my Medical Inquiries, which you will please to put

into the hands of a bookseller in Boston for sale. The price of each copy is to be one dollar. The amount of the whole (deducting as much as will be necessary to advertise them) is to be applied as a nest egg for a fund to establish a Dispensary in your town. If this small contribution should not prove the means of exciting other donations to carry into execution the plan of a Dispensary in six months from the 1st of next June, I beg that you would distribute the amount of the books among the poor widows of your congregation. I have only to add to this request, that no public notice should be taken of the offer made in the first case, & that the widows relieved (if the money is applied in the second way) should never know the name of the person who has contributed a mite to lessen their misery.

The books & certificate of my election into your Academy came safe to hand, for which my thanks are due to the Rev^d D^r Willard.

The year 1790 has been fatal to the benefactors of mankind. In consequence of a vote of our College of Physicians, I am now preparing an eulogium upon my venerable master, the late D^r Cullen of Edinburgh. It is agreeable to see Science supply the deficiency of Religion by acts which indicate that mankind, however diversified by country or other circumstances, are all members of one great family.

With comp^{ts} to D^r Lathrop, I am, d^r Sir, yours affectionately,

BENJ^N RUSH.

PAINE WINGATE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, May 18, 1790.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your favour of the 7th instant, and delivered your enclosure to M^r Hazard. I am very happy to hear that you are recovered from your

late indisposition, and lament with you the premature death of our valuable friend, Mr Hilliard.* The influenza has been a general & grievous complaint this way. I have been visited with it more favourably than most, & am now pretty well. I grow languid, however, with my confinement here, & most heartily wish to return home. You ask when this will be? It is very uncertain. I please myself with the hope that Congress will adjourn some time in June, or the beginning of July; but if I was to judge by the business already done, I should not expect it before the end of our political existence. The House of Representatives have not yet taken up the bills relative to the funding system, but I think they will this week. It is very uncertain what will eventually be done in this business. I make no dependence on any decisions already made. I cannot undertake to give you any further information on this matter, but must refer you to the newspaper accounts. The bill for encouragement of literature has passed both houses, with no material alterations from that which I sent to you. I mentioned what you supposed needed an amendment respecting abridgements, &c., & the gentlemen of the law said it was singular to the British statute, & had always been construed in a sense sufficient for the security of authors. I enclose to you the Museum & a newspaper. I desire my compliments to M^{rs} Belknap & M^r Clarke, & am, with great esteem, your affectionate friend,

PAINE WINGATE.

Rev^d Mr Belknap.

* Rev. Timothy Hilliard was born in Kensington, N. H., Feb. 28, 1747, and graduated at Harvard College in 1764. From 1768 to 1771 he was a tutor in the College; and in April of the latter year he was ordained minister of the church in Barnstable. This office he held until April, 1783, when he resigned on account of ill health. In October of the same year he was installed over the church in Cambridge, as colleague with the venerable Nathaniel Appleton, D. D. He died in Cambridge, May 9, 1790. Several of his occasional sermons and a Dudleian Lecture were published during his life. — *EDS.*

ADDRESS TO THE CHILDREN OF THE NORTH SCHOOLS,
BOSTON, JULY, 1790.

DEAR CHILDⁿ, — Your present age is the most proper season to begin those improvements w^h are to last through your whole lives. The spring of y^e year is the time for sowing seed; and youth is the time for sowing y^e seeds of knowledge & virtue in the human mind. But you must remember that the growth of seed depends on the quality & disposition of the ground as much as on the skill & diligence of the person who sows it; so the cultivation of your minds depends as much on y^rselves as on y^r instructors. They may teach, but you must learn. They may take great pains to instruct you, but unless you diligently take heed to their instructions, & fix what they tell you in y^r own minds, all their teaching will profit you nothing. You see then that much of your improvement depends on y^r own diligence, & it is best that you should early form a habit of attention & not suffer yourselves to be unconcerned & thoughtless. Though it is proper that you should be allowed time for *diversion*, yet you must not make a business of y^r diversion, but only use it as a refreshment to relieve you from the fatigue of study, that you may go to it again with new relish & spirit. And believe me, whoever does not enter upon his studies with *spirit* will never make any figure as a scholar.

Another thing which I would recommend to you is, to *govern* yourselves; that is, to take such care of your own conduct as that your schoolmaster may be relieved of the trouble of governing you. It is the duty of every person to govern himself; and we cannot begin too early in life to practise this necessary duty. You should therefore learn to restrain your passions, to curb your tongue, to avoid all occasions of quarrelling, & to preserve a decent, sober, & attentive behaviour at school. This will

gain the love of your master & enable him the more easily to carry on the work w^{ch} is committed to him. If every scholar would learn to govern himself, there would be no need of correction or expulsion, the ferule & cowskin would be thrown by, & the whole business of the school would be confined to instruction & learning.

And let me add, this is now become a matter of necessity; for by the new regulations w^{ch} have been introduced into the schools, you see that the number of scholars is increased, & the duty of the masters is increased with it. Let it therefore be your care as much as possible to lighten their burden with respect to government, & you will reap the benefit of it in having their time wholly devoted to the care of your *learning*. But there is a farther advantage to be gained by it; for if you learn to govern yourselves while young, you will get such a good habit as will probably remain with you thro' life, & make you exemplary in all your conduct, so that you will live usefully in this world & be prepared for the enjoyment of God hereafter.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Rev^d Mr Jeremy Belknap, Boston.

DEAR SIR, — I enclose you a copy of the Eulogium upon D^r Cullen. As the printer intends to send a number of them to Boston for sale, perhaps your publishing one or two extracts from it in your papers may be useful to him. It was written amidst many avocations, which must apollogize for its many defects.

I am perfectly satisfied with your manner of [dispos]ing of the proceeds of the Medical Inquiries.

I expect to send you my letter upon Amusem^{ts} & Punishments for publication by the first vessel y^t sails for Boston.

Please to tell D^r Willard when you see him y^t the books & certificates he sent to my care were received & distributed agreeably to his request. Beg him to accept of my thanks for his excellent & pious tribute to the memory of Mr. Hilliard.

Adieu ; yours ; y^{rs} ; yours,

BENJⁿ RUSH.

PHILAD^a, July 29, 1790.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, Aug^t 25, 1790.

DEAR SIR, — You have done me too much honor in the edition you have given my little tract upon Spirituous Liquors. If it does any good in the eastern parts of your country, you shall be entitled to the reward of it. I thank God for his great goodness to me in having made me the instrument of spreading anywhere one just opinion upon that subject. How many more worthy instruments might he have chosen for that purpose ! And how easily could He have spread his truth upon that as well as all other subjects by means of his Divine Spirit, without the instrumentality of any of his creatures !

I have concluded to publish my “Thoughts upon the Amusements and Punishments which are proper for Schools” in the next number of the Columbian Magazine. If you think it will do good in your State, you can procure a place for it in your Magazine, or in any other of your periodical publications.

The next time I appear before the public as an author will probably be in an “Inquiry into the Influence of Tobacco upon the Health, Life, Morals, Manners, and Property of Mankind.” I have lately discovered that the use of that vile weed, especially in chewing & smoaking, predisposes very much to the intemperate use of strong

drinks. The use of tobacco in any way is *uncleanly*. Now uncleanliness has been proved to be unfriendly to morals. Many diseases are produced by it, some of which have become fatal. The price of it is moreover considerable, amounting in a lifetime to many pounds, and the *time spent in procuring & using it*, if employed in profitable labor, would yield a handsome beginning for a son or daughter, or endow a charity school, or nearly build a church.

My defence of the use of the Bible as a school book waits only to be transcribed in order to be printed.

Adieu. Let us always remember *that no good effort is lost*, and that *all just theories are practicable*. Let us advance one step further, and while mankind laugh at our visionary schemes to make them wiser and better, let us pity and forgive them. Our Saviour thought them worthy of his precious life & death. How delightful then should it be to us to love those who he has loved, to serve those whom he served, and if necessary to die for those for whom he died! Our labor will not be in vain, for we shall be the feeble heralds of that Almighty Goodness which will finally subdue all things to itself, and render the Atonement effectual to the salvation of *all mankind*.

From, dear Sir, yours sincerely.

BENJ^N RUSH.

JOHN PINTARD TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Reverend Jeremy Belknap, Boston. Favored by the Rev^d M^r Morse.

NEW YORK, 11th October, 1790.

DEAR SIR, — I am exceedingly indebted to you for your present of the Indian Bible, which came safe to hand. I shall deposit it, with your permission & in your name, in the American Museum, lately instituted by the St. Tammany's Society in this city, for the express pur-

pose of collecting & preserving every thing relating to the natural or political history of America. A small fund is appropriated to that purpose, & should the Society exist this branch of it may arrive to something useful. I have not time to explain the principles of this Society, of which I am a member, further than that it is a political institution founded on a strong republican basis, whose democratical principles will serve in some measure to correct the aristocracy of our city.

I am obliged to you for the offer respecting the coins. I must decline it, however, as I know not how far indulging a turn that way may lead. Should there be any thing in D^r Byles's library in the book way suitable to the intention of our Society, I would engage the Trustees of our Museum to give an order for purchasing them, if I could know what the articles & their cost were.

Among other obligations, the introduction of D^r Cutler I esteemed as a particular favor. I was so much hurried at the time he left this city that I could not write to you. In conversation I think I desired him to beg your accept^o of Clavigero. I find by the tenor of your last this was not done. Give me leave to offer it as a token of my regard for you. It is no way inconvenient to me to part with it, as I can replace it.

The perplexed & anxious avocations of a mercantile life are little congenial with literary pursuits. My time at present is too much occupied to admit of attention to books but at detached moments. "Tied to a ducat's dirty sphere," I must content myself with grovelling for a while in hopes that some future opp^o will admit of leisure to indulge my natural inclination.

Wishing you every happiness & requesting my best respects to your good family, I am, with regard,

Your friend & wellwisher,

JOHN PINTARD.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, NOV^r 19, 1790.

DEAR SIR, — I owe you three or four letters, but shall endeavour now to pay them all in *one*. Upon inquiry, I found only one of the ingredients you wrote for for your friend who wished to engage in the manufactory of the morocco leather. I did not send the other, because I thought it could not be applied to any use alone.

Since my last, our truly “beloved physician,” Dr. Clarkson, has finished his course.* He was my intimate friend for one & twenty years, during which time our harmony never suffered a moment’s interruption, altho’ we often interfered with each other’s interests in the line of our business. He was a man of an excellent spirit, and much sweet council have we taken together. There is scarcely a street in our city that does not daily remind me of some pious thought which has fallen from him in our accidental interviews & conversations. I attended him in his last illness. For a while he was silent upon the subject of his great change; but a few days before he died he bore a noble testimony in favor of our Divine Master. He breathed his last on a Sunday morning about 10 o’clock. Upon being told by Mr Green (one of the ministers of our city), an hour before he died, that he would spend the remainder of the Sabbath in heaven, and that the language of his Saviour’s to him then was, “This day shalt thou be with [me] in paradise,” he said, with a triumphant smile on his countenance, “O yes, and I rejoice in the prospect of it.” Great respect was paid by our citizens to his memory. His house was crowded by his poor patients and pious friends immediately after his death, all of whom returned from viewing his corpse

* Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, an eminent physician of Philadelphia, who is frequently referred to in the correspondence between Mr. Hazard and Mr. Belknap, died Sept. 19, 1790, at the age of fifty-three.—EDS.

with tears in their eyes. His family is now divided between his son W^m (the doctor) & Joseph, the clergyman. The doctor, who is a worthy & sensible young man, has succeeded to nearly all his father's business. Life to me, in the death of this excellent man, has lost a tie. He was particularly useful to me in my religious inquiries; for, alas! I ought to blush when I add, that he was upwards of twenty years ahead of me in his supreme attention to the one thing needful. O my brother! my brother! very pleasant wast thou unto me. My love for him was indeed wonderful. But I must stop, tho' I could fill whole pages with his praises.

Gov^r Bowdoin has paid the debt of nature. I always admired his character, more especially his open profession of religion. He did not admire Butler's Analogy more than I have done. I read it in the year 1772, and have always considered it as a monument of the strength & perfection of the human understanding. I knew a pious gentleman in Edin^r who told me that he owed his peace & stability of mind in the belief of the Gospel entirely to that excellent book. I think it should be placed with Marshall's Mystery of Gospel Sanctification next to the BOOK OF GOD.

I only watch for time to *copy* my defence of the use of the Bible as a school book to prepare it for the press. The title of it is to be, "An Inquiry into the Propriety of using the Bible as a School Book, in a Letter to the Rev^d M^r Belknap of Boston, by B. Rush, &c." I am surprised at Noah Webster's heresy upon this subject. He thinks justly upon most moral & political questions. My letter to you will be printed in the Museum.

The *great world* of America is soon to assemble in Philadelphia. I dread the effect of it upon the morals & manners of our people. Gen^l Washington's example is truly excellent. He seems not only to believe the Gospel, but to *feel* its spirit. I wish the same could be said of all the

great officers of the government. But let us not despair. The Lord God omnipotent reigneth, & I hope the time is gradually approaching when the republics as well as the kingdoms of this world shall become the visible property of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Mr Hirst speaks in high & grateful terms of you. I thank you for your civilities to him.

Adieu. From, my dear friend, yours most *affectionately* (for I begin to disrelish the words *humble servant* in concluding my letters),

BENJⁿ RUSH.

P. S. The essay upon Tobacco is finished, & will in due time be published. I expect to encrease the number of my enemies by it, but I am *scandal proof*. To do *good*, it is absolutely necessary to subdue in some instances the love of what the world calls reputation, or a character for prudence & common sense.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan^y 5th, 1791.

DEAR SIR, — Both your letters came safe to hand. I shall subscribe for your History, and place your subscription paper in Mr Dobson's bookstore, where it will invite more encouragement than in the hands of any individual in our city.

In my objections to the dead languages, I do not mean to exclude English writers from borrowing useful or expressive terms from them. Medicine, as well as several other sciences, cannot do without them. By frequent use they will become English words, & then they will be remembred, without knowing their derivation, as easily as words of Saxon or Norman origin.

I perfectly agree with you in the exceptions you have made in the Old Testament, and shall not fail of introducing them, with some others, in my letter to you upon the use of the Bible in schools.

We are about to establish Sunday Schools in our city. The Bible is to be the only book that is to be read in them. The schools will be under the directions of persons of all religious denominations. Of course, no other book would have been proper in them.

Your friend, Mr Wingate, answers the character you gave him. There is a primness, a simplicity, a morality, and an intelligence in the New England character which I have always admired, and which I have often defended in the beginning of the late war. The Middle and Southern States will become wise and happy only in proportion as they resemble the inhabitants of their brethren in the Eastern States.

New objects of industry and business multiply upon me every day. How delightful the thôt that the mind of man is immortal! Otherwise, it would sink under the weight of its numerous undertakings & imperfect executions. Eternity will [be] long eno' to complete all our unfinished enterprises & studies, which have for their *end* the glory of our Master.

I wish very much to see a short & faithful history of the establishment of the federal goverment. Such a work would display the human mind in all the States, and furnish some new facts in the history of man as a political animal. Suppose you undertake it.

Adieu, from, my dear Sir, yours very affectionately,

BENJ^R RUSH.

PAINE WINGATE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 10, 1791.

REV^D & DEAR SIR,—I have received your favours of Dec. 8th and Dec. 22, and delivered the enclosed letters agreeably to your request. Dr Rush has politely called upon me & invited me to visit him, which compliment I intend to accept. He is undoubtedly a very agreeable and sensible gentleman. It gave me much pleasure to

find that you had so far advanced in the History of N. H. as to send out proposals for subscriptions for printing the two last volumes. The President when he subscribed expressed the pleasure he had in reading the first vol., & in the prospect he had of seeing the continuance. The Vice President did the same. They both subscribed for a compleat set, to be bound & lettered, & paid four dollars & half each. I then handed the subscription paper in the Senate, where there were seven compleat sets, besides one by Secretary Otis, and five others for the two volumes subscribed for, and I received thirty dollars & half in cash, which I shall pay to M^r Hazard agreeably to your order. M^r Morris observed that he supposed that those who subscribed this way would have their books sent to them. I suppose that M^r Ames will offer a subscription paper in the House of Representatives. I hope that you will soon have such ample encouragement that the printing of those vols. will be forwarded without delay, and that you will meet with that reward which your labour & public spirit very justly deserve.

I do not know anything which I can write to you of Congressional matters more than you will see in the newspapers. We hope to have a short session, & return home in March next. I desire my compliments to M^{rs} Belknap, and am your affectionate friend & humble servant,

PAINÉ WINGATE.

Rev^d M^r Belknap.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO SAMUEL SHAW.*

Bo., 12 January, 1791.

DEAR SIR, — Having so good an opp^o by M^r Sever, & hoping that he may meet you, either in India or China, I

* Major Samuel Shaw, the first American Consul at Canton, was born in Boston, Oct. 2, 1754, and served with distinction in the army during the Revolution. In 1786 he was appointed Consul at Canton by the Congress; and this appointment was renewed by Wash-

give myself the pleasure of informing you, that at the united request of a number of your friends conducted by Mr Eliot the degree of Master of Art was conferred on you by the University of Camb^s on the last Commencement Day, & that, in consequence of my nomination in May last, you was in the succeed^s month of August unanimously elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences. I would have taken out your diploma from the Academy & sent it to you by this conveyance, but have been restrained by two considerations; one is the uncertainty of its finding you, & the other is that our late worthy President, Mr Bowdoin, who died in November last, did not leave any blanks signed, & there will probably be no election of another Presid^t till May next.

You will have all the news of a public nature by our friends who go from hence, & I have nothing private or personal to tell you of, unless it be that I am preparing a 2^d & 3^d vol. of the N. H. History for the press, w^{ch} will probably see the light in the course of the next summer.

Will you permit me to remind you, that, if you meet with any natural or artificial curiosities proper for the College Museum, you cannot do a more acceptable service than to secure y^m to be presented on your return. If among the various articles of Chinese workmanship you could procure the image of the *divine Joss*, it would be very welcome. The Chinese hemp is much celebrated in Europe; some of its seed might be worthy of importation to this country. I am told there are frequently brot to market at Canton specimens of *curious insects* well preserved. Pray do not forget to make y^rself master of the arithmetical instrument. Cap^t Ingraham at his return in

ington in 1790. Returning to this country for a visit, he was married, Aug. 21, 1792. to Hannah, daughter of William Phillips of Boston. In the following February he sailed again for China, but his health compelled him to embark for home in a few months after his arrival. He died at sea, off the Cape of Good Hope, May 30, 1794. He was an intimate friend of Rev. John Eliot, and is frequently mentioned in this volume. (See Quincy's Journals of Major Samuel Shaw.)—Eds.

the Columbia gave one to the College, but nobody there knows the use of it.

You will doubtless wish to shew some mark of respect to the Academy. You will therefore allow me to say, that in my opinion you cannot do it better than by communicating such observations made in the course of your travels as may serve to advance the cause of science, w^{ch} is the end of its institution.

Indorsed by Mr. Belknap, "Copy to S. Shaw, at Canton, Jan^y 12, 1791."

NATHANIEL PEABODY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

CONCORD, NEW HAMPS^r, Jan^y 17th, 1791.

DEAR SIR, — When I embrass'd the honourable pleasure of addressing you in Oct^r last, inclosing for your observation some historic hints respecting persons & things in this State, I omitted part of my intentions, which was to request information what mode among those most likely to be adopted by such a multifarious assembly as under popular governments generally compose the Legislature of a State wou'd best suit your inclination for this State, or individuals, in a moderate but useful manner, to express their grateful feelings excited by your arduous attention as author of the History of New Hamp^{re}.

There are many respectable characters, both in & out of Court, that esteem themselves & the State as under peculiar obligations to you, Sir, for the undertaking. Various modes have been mentioned for manifesting their feelings upon the occasion. Some say a small grant in money; others, "Take a number of the books." To this last it is objected, that possibly, by taking the

* Nathaniel Peabody, M. D., was born in Topsfield, Mass., March 1, 1741, and died in Exeter, N. H., June 27, 1823. He was an active and public-spirited citizen, as well as an eminent physician, and filled many civil and military offices. At this time he was a member of the New Hampshire Legislature. — Eds.

books, it may oblige the printer more than the author. Others say, purchase the copy of the 2^d & 3^d vol^s by giving a number of books; but all are uncertain what wou'd be most agreeable to you. I feel myself much engaged to effect some measure favourable to your wishes & interest, but am uncertain what to move for. I write without the privity or advice of any person; and if you will be so obliging as to favour me with a line on the subject, it shall not be used to your injury.

And be assured that I shall at all times be gratified by receiving your commands, and happy in promoting your wishes & the good of my country.

I am, dear Sir, with sentiments of regard & esteem,
Your most obed^t & very h^{le} ser^t,

NATH^l. PEABODY.

P. S. The post is waiting, & your candour will excuse incorrectness. As the Gen^l Court are in session, I shall be at this place when y^e post returns.

Rev^d Mr Belknap.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO NATHANIEL PEABODY.*

Bo., Jan'y. 20, 1791.

D^r SIR, — I should have been extreemly glad to have had more time to consider of an answer to y^r favour of y^e 17th, but as the post is to set off on his return within one hour & a half after his delivering your letter, & I am all y^e time interrupted by company, I have only time to tell you that I never rec^d the communication which you say you made in October. I have lately rec^d a line from Mr Stephen Peabody, in w^{ch} he *promises* me something from you & him jointly on the rising of the Court.

In answer to your request respecting what the Court should do, my first tho't is this: that unless there appears

* Printed from the rough draft, indorsed by Mr. Belknap, "Copy to N. Peabody, Jan'y 20, 1791." — Eds.

to be a general intention among the members to favour the cause, I would not have any motion made w^{ch} might subject me to the same mortification as I experienced in June, 1785. But if the gentlemen are disposed to do something w^{ch} may shew their acceptance of my service, a *clear grant* would be my choice, because on either of the other proposals I might experience some embarrassment.

I am, Sir, wth much respect, y^r obliged hbl. servt.

JOSIAH BARTLETT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

KINGSTOWN, February 25th, 1791.

REV^d SIR, — Some time the begining of April last, just before our Spring Circuit commenced, I received your favor of the 6th of March, 1790, and was much pleased to find you intended to continue the History of Newhampshire. The papers that were inclosed I sent to the persons to whom they were directed. Such as were not directed I gave to such persons as I thought most likely to give you proper information, and I fully determined as soon as the Circuit was over to collect and send you every information in my power that I should think would be useful to you in the business, more especially the altercation in this State relative to Vermont. But at that time, being unexpectedly called to other business, and the latter part of summer and fall my ill state of health scarcely permitted me to give proper attention to the necessary business of the public, put it quite out of my power notwithstanding my inclination to

* Hon. Josiah Bartlett, M. D., at this time President of New Hampshire, was born in Amesbury, Mass., Nov. 21, 1729. On reaching manhood he removed to New Hampshire, and began the practice of medicine, in which he achieved considerable success. He was a member of the Continental Congress for two years, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Subsequently he filled many important public offices. He died suddenly from a paralytic affection, May 19, 1795. — Eds.

comply with your request. Tho' these circumstances has prevented me from giving such information as would otherwise have been in my power, yet I would hope no disadvantage will arise, as you have had a correspondance with many gentlemen of character & abilities in the State, who, I doubt not, have given you every information that would have been in my power to have given, and that the work will suffer no detriment on that account.

The people of this State in general, and the most respectable in particular, are highly pleased that you have undertaken the further History of Newhampshire. The specimen given in the former volume has contributed to raise their expectations that it will be properly done. The Legislature at their late session seemed pleased that you had proceeded in the business, and as a token of their approbation have voted you the sum of fifty pounds, to be paid out of the Treasury as a present. Myself and some others could have wished the sum greater; but you are not unacquainted that the Legislature of this State in all their public grants have acted on a frugal plan, many times perhaps too much so. Nor has all the members a proper sense of the usefullness & importance of such a work, nor of the labor and expence of compiling it. Such as it is, I ask your acceptance of it, and, if you will empower any person to receive it, an order on the Treasury will be made out and the money paid on sight.

I am, with much respect, your most obed^t servant,

JOSIAH BARTLETT.

Rev.^d Jeremy Belknap.

VOTE OF THE GENERAL COURT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

In House of Representatives, Feb^y 17th, 1791.

Voted, that the Rev. Jeremy Belknap have and receive fifty pounds out of the Treasury of this State, by order

of the President, as a recompence and encouragement for his laudable undertaking of compiling & perfecting the History of New Hampshire.

Sent up for concurrence.

MOSES DOW, *Speaker*.

In Senate, same day, read & concurred.

J. PEARSON, *Sec^{ry}*.

A true copy. Attest,

JOSEPH PEARSON, *Sec^y*.

NATHANIEL PEABODY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

ATKINSON, Feby 26th, 1791.

SIR,—Inclosed you will have a specimen of the gratitude and generosity of this State. However, I must do them the justice to say that the vote does not express the ideas of the Legislature, for the grant was design'd only as an intimation of something more substantial to be hereafter granted, and which, I think, will be likely to take place. For some time I was in doubt whether to oppose this trifle or not, fearing you would esteem it as affrontive, when compared with the benevolent & arduous undertaking of perpetuating the History of New Hampshire. However, I wish you may be induced to accept the very small token of gratitude, as it was without opposition; and you may rest assured that the small influence I have the hon^r to possess in this State shall upon all proper occasions be exerted to procure a suitable acknowledgement of your merit; and shall at all times esteem myself hon'd by executing your commands.

I am, Sir, with sentiments of esteem, your most obed^t and very h^{le} ser^t,

NATH^L. PEABODY.

Rev^d Mr Belknap.

JEREMIAH LIBBEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston. Free. Jere^h Libbey.

PORTSMOUTH, March 18th, 1791.

DEAR SIR, — The letter you sent me for the Secretary I delivered myself to him. He says he wants much to write you, & will as soon as he can find time. Inclosed is a letter, I think, from the President. If it contains your order, or rather his in your favour, shall I ask you how you mean to dispose of it? My reasons are: the Court have order'd all specie orders to be rec^d for *any* taxes due the State, but have not given the Treasurer leave to pay money for them out of the Treasury, and as *we*, the town of Portsmouth, owe some money to the State, and as Selectmen are doing all we can to pay it off, I mention it to you, that if we do not procure orders sufficient from our own inhabitants to pay what we owe, I have no doubt the Selectmen would, if in their power, purchase [yours], if it would serve you. I mention this [of my] own head, not from any intimation or [conver]sation had with them on the subject. If you have not rec^d your order, or have not the direct line pointed out for receiving it, I would advise you to make application as soon as is convenient, as the sooner you get it the more opportunity you will have to dispose of it, as they will not always command the cash without a discount to 5 to 10 ¢ c^t. Our friend, Judge Pickering, rec^d one, & lodged it with the Treasurer for payment, and the Treasurer return'd it by me to him again, saying he must sell it to those who owed the State, but he could not pay any money for it. Is not this policy?

I am, dear Sir, your friend & servant,

JEREMIAH LIBBEY.

You will remember, we, as *Selectmen*, die on the 25th instant.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO JOHN WENTWORTH.*

BOSTON, March 21, 1791.

DEAR SIR, — I have written you several letters, both while you was in England & since you have been in N. Scotia, but never had the pleasure of a line in return. When the 1st vol. of y^e Hist^y of N. H. was printed, I gave one to M^r John Peirce to be sent to you. I have also dld. to him sev^l of your books w^h I borrowed out of y^e library at Wolfboro' before it went to wreck with your other property in our late tumults.

In the list of subscribers to my 2^d & 3^d vol. returned to me by M^r Blowers I observe with pleasure your signature. This encourages me to hope that, as you formerly patronized the work, you will not take it amiss that I should apply to you for some assistance. I have endeavoured to explore every fountain of intelligence that is accessible, & have succeeded in some instances beyond my expectation; nor would I leave any method unattempted by w^{ch} it is possible for me to obtain as complete a knowledge as possible of the persons & things concern^g w^h I write.

For that part of the history of which you may say, with the ancient hero of Troy, *Quorum pars magna fui*, I am furnished with the correspondence of "the Sons of Liberty" from 1766 to 1770, copies of the complaint of P. Livius, y^r defence, & his replies, in 1772, some letters & minutes found among the MSS. of the late Col. Atkinson, the letters w^h you wrote to the Ministry during the troubles about the Tea & the union of y^e Colonies in 1774, printed in the Parliamentary Regs. With these & what I shall collect from the public records in N. H., whither I am now going to complete my compilation, & what I have minuted & remember of the transactions of that period, I

* This letter is printed from Mr. Belknap's rough draft, which may differ somewhat from the letter actually sent. — Eds.

shall form y^e chapter of your administration. But I do most sincerely wish that I could converse with you on some of these various topics, because it is my intention & desire to give as candid an acc^o of things as is consistent with truth. It is true I always was & shall appear in this work to be an advocate for the American side of the question w^h was so long in debate wth G. B., & w^h is now determined by the supreme arbiter. But there were some things done by my countrymen w^h I did not approve at the time, nor has the length of time w^h has elapsed altered my opinion. One of these was the havoc of private property made by confiscations. On this & some other circumstances I could enlarge, but shall say no more than what is necessary to give a just idea of y^e subject.

I know not *as yet* whether any copy of the final determinã of the case w^h Livius agitated in Eng^d is on record or on file in y^e Secy's Office. Lest perhaps I should miss of find^g it there, will you be so good as to let me have it, or at least an abstract of it, & send it to me by the next vessel that shall come to Boston?

If there are any other matters which in your judgment I ought to be acquainted with, & which I shall not be able to obtain without your assistance, will you be so good as to mention them to me? I shall receive such communication as a particular favour. In particular please to tell me what were the causes of the removal of y^r predecessor, & whether any alledged misconduct in y^e mode of grant^g lands & taking fees was one.

Our governm^t appears at last to be happily settled, & every friend to virtue & good order must wish it permanency. I hope that 25 years of controversy & revolution will be sufficient for the space of time w^{ch} I have to exist on this globe. Were I to live to the age of Methuselah I should not wish to see another such period.

The publication of my work is unavoidably delayed by the severity of the weather, w^h has made it impossible to procure the paper till spring. It is now making in Pennsylvania, & I have the prospect of receiv^g it in y^e course of next month. You need not therefore fear that your communications will be too late if they come by the end of May or begin^g of June.

I am, d^r Sir, with equal respect & affection as in 1773,
Y^r obliged friend & serv^t,

J. B.

To Gov. Wentworth, at Halifax.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO NATHANIEL PEABODY.*

BOSTON, March 23, 1791.

SIR,—Your favour inclosing the vote of the Assembly demands my thanks; & I wish you would give me your advice respecting the mode in which it will be proper for me to express my sense of the favourable notice which they have taken of me & my labours. I esteem it as a mark of their approbation & an encouragement to proceed, and as such I shall accept it.

You will excuse my saying that I cannot view it as “a recompense,” when you consider my attention & labour for more than eighteen years past in collecting, compiling, digesting, & copying the History, together with the expense & risque which I have incurred. The expense of publishing the first volume was upwards of £250; & I expect that these which I have in hand will cost £400,—the payment of which, excepting what the Assembly have granted, will depend on the sale of the books. The paper, printing, engraving, & binding, beside

* Dr. Belknap preserved the rough draft of this letter; but by the courtesy of our associate, the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, we are enabled to print it from the copy actually sent, which is now in his valuable collection of autographs. There are some variations between the two copies. — Eds.

incidental charges, must absolutely be paid for by the author; for I cannot find that the tradesmen concerned will *risque* anything.

I have lately been informed that there is an Academy set up in your neighbourhood & under your patronage. The state of literature will make an article in my account of New Hampshire; I therefore request of you some account of this institution,—its date, its funds, the expense of tuition & boarding, the names of the preceptors, & any other particulars which you may think proper to communicate.

I am much obliged by your kind offers to serve me, & should be very happy in an opportunity to do you a kindness. When you come to this town, pray let me have the pleasure of seeing you at my house.

I am, Sir, with respect,

Y^r obliged & obed^t serv^t,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

Col. Peabody.

JOSEPH PEARSON TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

EXETER, March 24th, 1791.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the seventh of December last was received on my return from Concord, and in compliance with your request concerning “the dispute respecting government between New Hampshire and the towns on Connecticut River, and whether there was a resolve of the New Hampshire Assembly approving and giving leave for the erecting the Grants into a separate government,” must beg leave, at present, to refer you to the printed Journals of Congress for the years 1780, '81, and '82, the loan of which, I suppose, may be easily obtained in the town of Boston.

* Joseph Pearson was appointed Secretary of State of New Hampshire in 1786, and held the office for twenty years. (See Bell's History of Exeter, p. 396.)—Eds.

No law respecting Schools has been passed since that of the 18th of June, 1789; *v.* page 251, octavo.

I have herewith enclosed a copy of the last Laws printed. The General Court have at their late session revised, in part, the laws of said State, the titles of which are enclosed, the remainder to be compleated at the next session, and are to be printed in the course of the next summer & fall.

The ferries upon Connecticut River were & are granted by the State of New Hampshire without any exception.

M^r Libbey was so kind as to deliver me your letter of the ——— some time this month, which being mislaid, have almost forgot the contents; but if my memory serves me, you requested to be informed in what manner you should acknowledge the grant of fifty pounds in your favor made by the General Court at their last session, which I suppose may be done by a letter to his Excellency President Bartlett, and which, as is customary with public communications, will be laid before the General Court at their next sessions.

I have also enclosed your proposals for printing by subscription, &c., by which it appears that I have received twenty-nine dollars, which shall be sent to M^r Libbey at Portsmouth by the first safe opportunity which presents, agreeably to your request.

I am, with sintiments of respect, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

JOSEPH PEARSON.

Rev^d M^r Jeremy Belknap.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, April 5th, 1791.

DEAR SIR, — Your letter of the 20th of March, and the Sermon to which you refer me, came safe to hand, for both of which please to accept of my thanks. I heartily

concur with you in your opinions and remarks upon the subject of war, and as I can add nothing more pertinent to them, I shall give them a place in one of our papers, under the title of "extract of a letter from Boston."

Mr. Thatcher's Sermon has merit. There can be no true greatness that is not founded upon Christian principles, and the men of this world are *great* only in proportion as they *assume* certain Christian virtues. All ages agree in believing Cæsar & Henry the 4th of France to have been great men. Perhaps they are unrivalled in the history of mankind. But to what do they owe the pre-eminence of their fame? Not to their conquests, for Alexander surpassed them both in military exploits; not to their talents, for Cæsar has had many equals, and Henry many superiors in endowments of mind. The transcendent fascination of their names has arisen wholly from their magnanimity in *forgiving injuries*, but this part of their characters is borrowed wholly from Christianity. In both of them it was only a shining accomplishment, and was founded in *pride*. In the Christian, the forgiveness of injuries is a virtue, and founded in *humility*.

I enclose you at last my letter upon the use of the Bible in schools. It has been well received in our city. Suppose you get it reprinted in your Magazine, and in some of your newspapers. I pray God to accompany it with his blessing wherever it is printed or read!

I am now engaged in composing a small work which I shall entitle "The Application of the Principles of Medicine to the Explanation of sundry Events, and particularly of the Diseases & Remedies mentioned in the Old & New Testament." In this work I shall tread on new ground, but my opinions will all tend to establish the truth and excellency of the Scriptures. One part of this essay will aid our testimonies against the use of spirits. The *labor* of Egypt was supported by no other cordial than by leeks

and onions, and the *wars* of the Jews only by wine, raisins, and cakes of figs, inclusive of common aliment.

My breast is much mended since my last letter. I thank you for your prescription of a ride to the pines of New Hampshire, but I thank God such an excursion will not now be necessary. I consider long journies to new or distant countries as nearly the only radical cure for pulmonic complaints.

Adieu, from, d^r Sir, yours sincerely,

BENJⁿ RUSH.

P. S. To render the letter on the use of the Bible acceptable & useful, perhaps it had better appear as if it had been extracted from the Musæum by one of your printers.

I shall attend to your request respecting the subscription to your History.

JOHN PINTARD TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, 6th April, 1791.

MY REVEREND FRIEND,—I received your favor inclosing me a subscription for the last volumes of your History of New Hampshire. I was at that time occupied in the Legislature of this State, then in session, and, serving my noviciate with a hearty disposition to render myself useful & acquit myself with propriety, was much engaged. I endeavoured to serve you also, with very little success, however. The disposition of our city is tolerably favorable to subscriptions, and punctuality in payments is perhaps as great here, some say greater, than in most other places. We are unaccustomed, however, to advances, and this part of your proposals defeated my applications. I think the whole number I obtained was but 6 or 8 names. If you have concluded to go on with your work I will stand pledged for them.

I sincerely wish you may have met with better success in other places, & regret that my earnest endeavours to serve have been so fruitless. I fear least you will charge me with neglect in advising you. But inattention or remissness is my least fault. My avocations, especially as a citizen, are numerous, and I can seldom steal a moment for private or literary correspondence. Accept this as an apology, and should you commit your labours to the press I will leave no means unemployed to promote a sale.

My passion for American history increases, tho' I have but detached moments & scant means of gratifying it. To tie myself down in some measure to the study of our annals, I assumed the task of drawing up a kind of American Chronology, which appears monthly at the end of the New York Magazine, with the view also of contributing my mite towards the support of a periodical publication of that nature in our city. It is quite in its infancy, but is at present a few months more than a yearling, and if nursed may arrive at manhood. But it is hard to rear a superstructure without materials for a foundation; and tho' such are in the quarries of our State, they are not so easily drawn forth as with you. For I will not own that we live under a Beotian atmosphere. I have proceeded as far as Robertson leads in his History, which with difficulty I have abridged, wishing to render my subject something more than a barren date of events. I shall do pretty well as long as Prince holds out. But shall be at a loss after I part with him, & fear I shall find it difficult to keep up my narrative should I persevere, without more reading & labour than I shall be able to spare. Perhaps thro' Thomas this Magazine may have wandered as far as the regions of Genius. If so, you will perceive my progress, and how little originality I have to boast of. I shall be much obliged to you if you will point out the sources by which I may derive authentic information,

and if I can I will draw from them. I wish to hear whether your Antiquarian Society is commencing, or its prospects. An acc^t will be given in some future Magazine of our Tammany Society (we have lately uncanonized him). This being a strong national society, I engrafted an antiquarian scheme of a museum upon it. It makes a small progress with a small fund, & may possibly succeed. We have got a tolerable collection of pamphlets, mostly modern, with some history, of which I will also send you some day an account. If your society succeeds, we will open a regular correspondence & interchange of communications, duplicates, &c.

If my plan once strikes root, it will thrive. Tell our friend Morse that by the next edition of his Geography our city will afford a better picture of *the progress of civil society* than in his last. I wish to know when he expects to emit another impression, & I wish to contribute thereto, but dare not promise.

Doctor Cutler wrote me a few weeks past, and inclosed I send an answer; as it was on a literary subject, it is open to your perusal. Please to forward it. Our Society proposes celebrating the completion of the third century of the discovery of America, on the 12th of October, 1792, with some peculiar mark of respect to the memory of Columbus, who is also our patron. We think besides a procession & an oration, — for we have annual orations, — of erecting a column to his memory. I wish to know, if possible, the dimensions & cost of your monument on Beacon Hill, to guide our calculations. Can you furnish the requisite information? You are happily relieved from further trouble by my having arrived at the end of my paper. I hope your good family is well, not forgetting my young Freshman. With every wish for your success & prosperity, I am, good Sir, your friend,

JOHN PINTARD.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO JOSIAH BARTLETT.*

Ex^a, 13 Ap^l, 1791.

SIR, — Permit me to return you my thanks for your obliging favour communicating to me notice of the grant w^h the Ass^y of N. H. had made to me of £50. Hav^g rec^d y^e m^o from the Treas^r, I accept it as a mark of y^e public approbation of my design to continue the History of the State, & beg you, Sir, to communicate my grateful acknowledgm^t to the Assembly in such a manner as to you may seem most proper.

His Exc^y Presid^t Bartlett.

NATHANIEL ADAMS TO JEREMY BELKNAP.†

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston.

PORTSMOUTH, April 30th, 1791.

SIR, — Agreeably to your request I have examined the files of Keene Court, October Term, 1782, but can find nothing of importance relative to the riot which took place there about that time. I will therefore endeavour to give you the best account I can from my recollection. The government of Vermont had usurped a jurisdiction on the east side of Connecticut River in the Counties of Cheshire and Grafton, in which a considerable number of the inhabitants of each of those counties acquiesced, notwithstanding which the Superior Courts of Newhampshire continued to sit in Cheshire County at the usual stated times after the year 1778. Whether the Inferior Courts were interrupted or not, I cannot say. In 1782, Sept^r, an Inf^r Court was held at Keene, at which a number of persons appeared & violently opposed the Court's proceeding to business, and effected their purpose so far as

* This letter is printed from Mr. Belknap's rough draft. — Eds.

† Nathaniel Adams was a grandson of Judge William Parker, and was for many years Clerk of the Court. (See Brewster's Rambles about Portsmouth, pp. 119, 120.) — Eds.

to cause an adjournment, but at the same term three of the leaders of the mob were arrested and bound over to the Superior Court which sat the first Tuesday of October following. In the mean time these persons and others were very busy in promoting discord & sedition, and endeavouring to raise a party to oppose the sitting of the Superior Court, and it was reported that two hundred persons had associated and armed themselves for that purpose. On the morning before Court several of the leaders came to the Judges' chambers, & presented them with a petition the substance of which was to desire the Court might be adjourned & no legal proceedings had while the troubles in which the country was then involved existed. They were informed the Court could come to no determination on the subject but in open Court. If they would then attend, they should have an answer. Accordingly, when the Court met their petition was publicly read, and the consideration of it postponed to the next day, & the Court proceeded to business. The Grand Jury were impaneled, & those who were bound over were indicted for riotously assaulting & compelling the Inf^r Court to desist from their lawful business. Upon which indictment they were arraigned, plead guilty, & put themselves on the mercy of the Court, who forgave the offence, and the mob peaceably dispersed, and never gave the Courts of Law any further interruption.

The petition they presented to the Court is not in my office, & the indictment is in common form for a riot. The insurgents were principally inhabitants of the eastern side of the river.

I shall cheerfully send you abstracts or copies of any papers in my office, which you suppose may be beneficial to you in compiling your History.

I am, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

NATH^L ADAMS.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap.

CONTRACT FOR PRINTING THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE
HISTORY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.*Memorandum.*

BOSTON, May 6, 1791.

AN Agreement is this day made between Jeremy Belknap on the one part & Mess^{rs} Thomas & Andrews on the other part, that the said Thomas & Andrews shall print 800 copies of the second volume of the s^d Belknap's History of New Hampshire on paper purchased by s^d Belknap, & delivered to them, agreeable to the said Belknap's manuscript, & in a manner as nearly resembling the first volume of s^d History, printed by Robert Aitken in 1784, — a specimen of which is given to s^d Thomas & Andrews by said Belknap; and the s^d Belknap hereby promises & contracts with the s^d Thomas & Andrews that for every sheet of letter press so printed, containing sixteen pages, that is, for 800 copies of every such sheet, he, the s^d Belknap, will pay to the s^d Thomas & Andrews, or their order, thirty-seven shillings & six pence Lawful Money within three months after the delivery of the whole; & for whatever sum may be due after the expiration of s^d three months, the s^d Belknap will pay lawful interest till paid.

Provided, nevertheless, that in case the s^d Belknap should contract with the s^d Thomas & Andrews for the printing of the third volume of s^d History, the s^d three months shall be accounted to begin from the delivery of the last sheets of the s^d third volume, & not before.

Provided, also, that if any contract be made for the s^d third volume it be made within one week after the printing of the second volume be finished.

JEREMY BELKNAP.

THOMAS & ANDREWS.

The following memorandum is indorsed on the reverse of the contract: —

Memorandum. May 23, 1791. An agreement is this day made between Thomas & Andrews on y^e one part & Jeremy Belknap on the other part, that the s^d Thomas & Andrews shall reprint the 2^d & 3^d sheets of the 2^d volume of s^d Belknap's History of N. Hamp., 300 copies for three pounds and 300 copies of each of the other sheets already contracted for at 3/9 per sheet, & the s^d Belknap will make payment on y^e same terms as are stipulated in the contract on y^e other side of this paper. The above interlineation of three pounds being made by consent of

JEREMY BELKNAP.

THOMAS & ANDREWS.

JOHN WHEELOCK TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, May 14th, 1791.

DEAR SIR, — Your favour of Feb^y 26 but lately came to hand. It lay a long time on the Keene road. The subscription for the History of New Hampshire I have particularly attended to, from love to knowledge & respect for the author. As it is now called for, it will be returned by the post. Capt. MacClure had a blank lodged in his hands, but concluded not to make use of it, but of that sent to me, as one might more conveniently answer the purpose in regard to the subscribers in this vicinity. I am sorry that we could not procure a greater number of subscriptions in this neighbourhood. But the fact is, that many are desirous of obtaining the work, but are not able to raise the cash. It is very scarce in this quarter. If they could have paid for it in produce, there would have been, I believe, a large number of subscrib-

* John Wheelock, LL. D., second President of Dartmouth College, was born in Lebanon, Conn., Jan. 28, 1754, and was one of the first class which graduated at that institution. In 1779, on the death of his father, he was made President. He died in office, April 4, 1817. It was during his administration that the celebrated attempt was made to change the original charter of the College. — Eds.

ers. Some did not subscribe who said that they should incline to purchase after the books shall be published, as they hope they shall then have the money or the means of procuring.

I have sent repeatedly to Col. Payne for his pamphlet, and enquired of all others about here who might be likely to have it, but have not been able to get a single copy. I heard that Mr Jacob of Windsor, in Vermont, had one. I accordingly sent to him. The bearer informed me that Mr Jacob said he had had one, and that he would search for it, and would send it to me (if not lost) for you. I shall desire the post to cross the river on his return, and call on him, and if he has found it to take it of him and forward it to you.

I have communicated your compliments and wishes to Mr Woodward, who says that he has not examined the papers of that old Convention for years, and that they are jumbled together in a very deranged & confused state. He says, however, that he should be glad to answer your wishes & serve your important undertaking so soon as he can have time to extract any minutes from that chaotic mass of transactions.

We are under a thousand obligations to you for your attention in procuring the *box* of *curiosities* in addition to your last gift of the *albatross' head* & the *Life of Dr Mather*. Mr Curtis promised to take them, and we expect that they will be soon on the road, if not by this time.

Command my services in any respect with regard to your interesting undertaking, the cause of knowledge, or your personal felicity.

In sentiment of sincere respect, I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient & humble serv^t,

J. WHEELOCK.

JOHN WENTWORTH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Reverend Jeremy Belknap, &c., &c., Boston.

FRIAR LAWRENCE'S CELL, NEAR HALIFAX,
May 15th, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR, — It is a long time since I have received such sincere pleasure as your letter of 21st March has given me; and I should have acknowledged it by the Alligator frigate, but she sailed so suddenly that there was not time to send to me here (about 6 miles from town) and return before she got away. Some of the letters you mention to have wrote to me I have answered, particularly those I reced. in England, and I think once from this country, but conveyances in our small coasters are very uncertain. The skippers are generally illiterate, & do not think of anything which does not immediately concern their cargo; by this means correspondence has hitherto been much obstructed. The books returned to M^r Peirce arriv'd safe during my absence into the woods on my public duty, which has hitherto generally taken from five to seven months in ev'ry year, & I find has loaded my constitution with rheumatic complaints; but am in hopes rest & a more comfortable regimen will restore me. These I hope to enjoy this year, being about to sail for England on business that may detain me six months from this country. There and everywhere else I shall rejoice to render you ev'ry agreeable service in my power; for altho' my letters have not reached you, and I have not done my heart justice in writing more frequently, yet be assured I have not known the least diminution of friendship and affectionate regard toward you. I accordingly was much pleased on hearing you were continuing the History of N. Hampshire, having rece'd so much satisfaction from the first volume, and being myself more interested in

the two next. I have herewith sent you the papers you desire, as far as I can find them. Most of my papers were destroy'd during the late tumults; both public & private were at several times burned. Their loss has been often very inconvenient to me since, and is now particularly regretted, as they might have been useful to you. However, all that remain I confide to your friendly discretion, which will readily suggest the great caution necessary that these communications should not appear to be from me. You will best understand the displeasure of Gov^t ag^t my late uncle; by a *very* private paper you'll find in the budget, wherein I wrote a hasty explanation & defence of the good old gen^t for the information of my noble friend & patron, thro' whom I prevailed to obtain time for him to resign, which saved all the disgrace w^b might have attended his removal, especially at [as] it appeared he resigned in favor of his nephew. This memoir, being confidential, must not be publish'd, tho' you can gather from it what may be necessary. The same I would request for all the other papers. If in any future time the whole can be safely returned, it may be best; if not, I rely on the truth, esteem, & regard I have always experienced in you that they be burned, & never seen by any other person than yourself. In my dispute with M^r L., it is probable he met great support from the interests of all those who wished to succeed me. They thereby became so deeply engaged to him that they procur'd his appointm^t to be Ch. Justice of N. H.; but this upon more mature consideration was tho't too likely to produce trouble, & he had a more lucrative office in Canada. During the siege of Quebec by M^r Arnold, part of his house, being properly situated, was used as a guard house. On the attack, his servant was in action, & *when over* M^r L. himself appeared. He also sometimes before the assault walk[ed] up to the walls. Upon the repulse of the Americans, he wrote home a pompous acco't of his services. "His house a guard

house, he himself often at the wheelbarrow in repairing the fortifications, and at all other times with a brown musquet doing duty with & encouraging the citizens." These things were artfully told to the K. just in the moment of joy for the defeat of the enemy & safety of the city, w^h was much apprehended; and it being suggested that the Ch. Ju^s. of Quebec was vacant, it was immediately given to him. The fact was, that he was remarkably shy on all the active business, as I was told by a gen^t present thro' the whole, and only appeared to *save* appearances, w^h he afterwards so well improved. But his restless spirit urged him to oppose & obstruct Gov^r Carleton's measures (now Lord D.), who found it necessary to supersede him, & wrote home his reasons. Some informality in the manner was discovered, & M^r L. was restored; but persisting in violence & opposition, he was again suspended by Sir Fr. Haldimand, who succeeded Sir Guy Carleton in the Gov^t. I know not what is now become of him, but during all the comotions that agitated America he was certainly at market, & ready to work for the best bidder & actually engaged on both sides. He is an artful, sensible, industrious, dangerous man, and I most certainly would have bought him had I not too *unwisely* relied on my integrity for defence and support. For I now declare to you, in private friendship, that on a review of all my public conduct to this day I acted with honest zeal for the King's service and the real good of his subjects, which I always did & do now think were inseparable; nor did I ever know any intentions to impose arbitrary laws on America, or to establish any system repugnant to British liberty, & I do verily beleive, had the true, wise, & open measures been embraced on both sides, that their union would have been many years established and their prosperity wonderfully increased. The Independance having been consented to by the Gov^t which entrusted me with its powers, I do most cordially

wish the most extensive, great, & permanent blessings to the United States, and of course rejoice at the establishment of their Federal Constitution, as a probable means of their happiness. If there is anything partial in my heart on this case, it is that New Hampshire, my native country, may arise to be among the most brilliant members of the Confederation, as it was my zealous wish, ambition, and unremitted endeavor to have led her to among the Provinces while under my adm^e. For this object nothing appeared to me too much. My whole heart & fortune were devoted to it, & I do flatter myself not without prospect of some success.

If the bundle of papers prove useful to you, they will therein do me the best service; if otherwise, I hope their being transmitted will serve to evince my ready disposition toward your wishes, which you may be assured you will find me at all times attached to with all the steadfastness and zeal of friendship & respect.

I am, my dear Sir, very truly, your sincere friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

Reverend Jeremy Belknap.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO JOSIAH BARTLETT.*

Bo., May 24, 1791.

SIR, — When I was at Exeter I left a letter with the Sec^y for y^r Exc^y acknowledging the rec^t of £50 granted to me by the Ass^y of your State as an encourag^t to proceed in my History of N. H., & requesting you to make known my grateful accept^e of the same at the next meet^g of the Ass^y in such a manner as to you should seem most proper. It would have given me great pleasure if my engagements had permitted me to return home through

* From Mr. Belknap's rough draft, indorsed by him, "Copy to President Bartlett, May 24, 1791." — Eds.

Kingston & pay my respects in person to y^r Exc^y, but this was impossible

By the assistance thus afforded me, together with what has been advanced by subscribers, I have begun the printing of the 2^d & 3^d vols. of y^e History, & hope to have them finished some time in the course of the ensuing summer. By the returns of subscriptions I find so many persons desirous of having whole sets that I shall be obliged to reprint the first volume, having not eno^t of y^e former edition on hand to supply y^m. This will put me to an additional expense, and yet I have no certainty that the number wanted will be sufficient to warrant my incurring that expense. Could I be assured of the sale of 300 more in addition to those w^{ch} are already subscribed for, I should be relieved from all difficulty.

When I made application to the Assembly, in 1785, for their countenance & assistance to this work, it was in contemplation by a committee with whom I conversed to purchase a number of my first volume, to be distributed among the several towns in the State & members of Ass^y, & I believe they made their report accordingly, but it was not done. Should such an idea be adopted by the Assembly at their next meeting, & should they in consequence direct the Treasurer to subscribe for 300 sets, & advance part of the money at the time of subscribing & pay the remainder on the delivery of the books, I could then go forward with the work, not only without fear, but with full satisfaction, & should think myself highly honoured by such a generous patronage.

May I ask the favour of your Exc^t to communicate this proposal to the Assembly as early in the session as may be convenient. Should they be desirous of conferring with me by letter, I shall be ready to obey their commands. It will be inconvenient for me to attend them in person, because I am & shall be daily occupied in examining & correcting the proof-sheets as they come from the press.

I beg leave further to suggest, that, according to y^e subscription papers w^h at present are returned, the number subscribed for in Massachusetts exceeds that in N. H. in the proportion of two to one. As I propose printing the names of subscribers this circumstance may operate to the disadv^e of your State in the minds of some, as if it was not so earnest to encourage a literary work calculated for its benefit as one of its sister States; but should what I propose take place, the balance of encouragement will fall on the side of N. H.

I would also beg leave to observe, that the several classes of tradesmen whom I employ in this work do not run any risque at all. The paper-maker is paid by the rheam; the printer by the sheet; the bookbinder by the volume; and the engraver at a stipulated price. I expect to be the bookseller myself, & I am the only person concerned whose expense is certain & whose profit is uncertain. I must pay them for their work, whether the books are sold or not. If they are sold I shall be a gainer, & if not a loser. This is precisely the state of the case, & I am the more particular on this head, lest it should be suggested that the advantage arising from the sale of the books would belong to the printers & booksellers, rather than to the author.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Rev^d Mr Jeremy Belknap, at Boston. Rev^d Mr Green.

PHILAD^a, 6th June, 1791.

DEAR SIR, — I regret that I have been so unsuccessful in obtaining subscriptions for your History. Our citizens have been so worn out in that way lately that there is a risk of being offended by only applying for them. The subscription paper hung up for several months in Dobson's bookstore, the most public place of resort for liter-

ary people in our city, and yet I find only the names of Dr Barton & myself in it. Notwithstanding this seeming neglect of your work, I am satisfied it will sell well if a few copies of it are sent to this city. Several works proposed for publication by our citizens have lately perished among us from the want of encouragement. Either our readers want the taste or our authors want the servility that ensure success of works of learning & genius in other countries.

Your physician when at college & your present family physician do not disagree so much as you imagine. In recent sprains attended with inflammation, *cold* applications alone are proper. In sprains attended with pain & weakness *only*, without inflammation, *hot* applications are to be preferred. The great fault of all our systems and books of medicine is, they prescribe for diseases by certain *names*. The philosophy of medicine consists in suiting our remedies to certain *conditions* of the system. These vary in different persons labouring under the same disease; they vary in different ages & seasons, & they even vary in different *stages* of the same disease. The last variation has been too little attended to; and hence the source of many disputes among physicians about the efficacy of the *same* remedies.

Have you read Paine's & Priestley's answers to Burke's pamphlet? They are both masterly performances, altho' they possess different species of merit. Paine destroys error by successive flashes of lightning. Priestley wears it away by successive strokes of electricity. The government, both civil & ecclesiastical, of England must undergo a change. Corruption there boils over. It would have been difficult for that country to have escaped the influence of the example of the United States upon their affairs; but France is too near them not to awaken them. Mankind have hitherto treated republican forms of government as divines now treat the doctrine of final restitution. Both have been condemned before an appeal had

been made to experiments ; for both have been accused of leading to disorder & licentiousness. Both charges, I believe, are equally destitute of foundation. The charges might with more reason be made against monarchy and the present doctrines of all the Protestant churches. What disorders have not existed under kingly governments? And what crime can be named against God, against man, or against society, which has [not?] been perpetrated by men who believe in endless punishment?

A belief in God's universal love to all his creatures, and that he will finally restore all those of them that are miserable to happiness, is a *polar* truth. It leads to truths upon all subjects, more especially upon the subject of government. It establishes the *equality* of mankind; it abolishes the punishment of death for any crime, & converts jails into houses of repentance & reformation.

All truths are related, or rather there is but one truth. Republicanism is a part of the truth of Christianity. It derives power from its *true* source. It teaches us to view our rulers in their *true* light. It abolishes the false glare which surrounds kingly government, and tends to promote the *true* happiness of all its members, as well as of the whole world, for peace with everybody is the true interest of all republics.

The bearer of this letter, Mr Green, is one of the ministers of our city, much respected for his excellent private character, & universally admired as a preacher. I am sure you will be pleased with him, for you will find him at home upon all subjects.

I enclose you a new edition of my tract on spirituous liquors. I have lately met with a strong confirmation of our principles upon this subject in Bruce's Travels. He says that spirits are considered as poisons in the hot climates of Egypt, Arabia, & Abissinia.

Adieu from, my dear Sir, your sincere friend,

BENJⁿ RUSH.

MICHAEL JOY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Mr J. Belknap, Boston. Cap^t Scott.

LONDON, 1st Augt, 1791.

DEAR SIR, — I learn with pleasure from your favours of the 6 May & 10 June that you have advanced so far with your History. I was too much gratified by the first volume not to wish the complete execution of the work, for my own sake. Since I have had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with the author, I have additional reasons for wishing it success.

I do not think your information respecting Dilly well founded. He is no doubt wealthy, & that is a substantial reason for putting your property into his hands; but he is by no means indolent, & from the particular line he is in, & the kind of customers who frequent his shop, to me he appears the very best man for your purpose. Had I thought otherways I should have taken leave to hint it to you when you first proposed putting the books into his hands. With Longman I have done business to the amount of some thousands with entire satisfaction, & I have accounts with several other booksellers, good men, but by no means so proper for your purpose as Dilly (with whom, by the by, I never had any connexion), & therefore I would recommend your sending the books to him directly, & not thro' any person here.

I have been confined for a few weeks, & am now so much occupied that I have only time to assure you of the cordial wishes of,

D^r Sir, y^r friend & hble. serv^t,

MICH. JOY.

JOHN PINTARD TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Reverend Jeremy Belknap, Boston. Favored by Fitch Hall, Esq.

NEW YORK, 1th October, 1791.

MY REVEREND FRIEND, — I have received your favor of the 13th September last, inclosing an invoice of a box of y^r History of N. Hampshire, received also by Capt. Barnard in good order, amounting to £16.2.6 y^r cur^y, equal to £21.10 N. Yk money. I am indebted to you for more favors in the epistolary way than one. But such have been my pursuits, & so pressing my business, that I really have had but few moments to devote to my literary friends, which must be my apology with respect to yourself. My fate, or fortune rather, has been very wayward since I parted with you; in which time, owing to too much confidence in mankind, I have lost what I once thought a fortune. It has pleased God, however, to crown my unwearied industry with success during the last year, & I feel happy in the prospect of closing a year of labor with paying all I owe on my account, & a great deal more that securityship for others has involved me in, with the pleasing prospect of good business arising from a good repute, which I trust always to preserve, that will enable me to secure a comfortable support whilst I have health to my little flock.

I feel very happy in the use you have made of my acquaintance with you to serve you. As a proof of my inclination, I send you herewith the amount of y^r invoice of books, & shall trust to the sale, of which I have no doubt, for my reimbursement. I do this with perfect ease to myself, & with the greater pleasure, as I hope it may serve one whom I highly esteem. Whenever your 3^d vol. is printed, forward as many as will complete the sets sent me, & I will see you repaid. I wish you every success in your undertaking, more than I fear you will

attain. If I can any ways serve you, intimate your wishes. I shall be as frank in declining, if not in my power, as I am ready to offer my services where it is. My best regards to your good lady & family, with my little Freshman.

I am, with every sentiment of esteem, your affectionate friend,

JOHN PINTARD.

BULKLEY OLCOTT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

Reverend Jeremy Belknap, Seven Star Lane, Boston. Favord by Mr Evans. To be left at Mr Read's.

CHARLESTOWN, N. H., Dec^r 26, 1791.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — I received your friendly epistle of the 29th of Oct^r, with the contents, for which I sincerely thank you.

I should not have neglected an answer to it untill this time, were it not that I have ever since been much unwell, and poorly able to attend to my own necessary business; and this must be my apology for the very imperfect return I am now able to make you.

I am greatly pleased with the curious and industrious spirit you exert in researches into everything in your power that may be of advantage to our common country. Such laudable designs merit well of the publick; and you will not, I trust, loose your own recompence.

I proceed to give you some brief account of those matters which are the principal objects of y^r request. The academy in this town is a large, commodious building for the purpose, — will be compleatly finishd next spring. A charter for it was granted by the Assembly of this State last winter, incorporateing a board of seven trustees. There is as yet no fund established for it; one is now in

* Rev. Bulkley Olcott was born in Bolton, Conn., Oct. 28, 1733, and graduated at Yale College in 1758. In May, 1761, he was ordained minister of the church in Charlestown, N. H., in which office he continued until his death, June 26, 1793. (See Saunderson's History of Charlestown, N. H. pp. 218-225.) — EDS.

agitation by way of Lottery. If this should fail, some other mode will be attempted. The present preceptor is Lemⁿ Hedge, A. M. The price of tuition is 2 dollars per head per quarter; ditto of boarding children, 4^s per week; of grown persons, 6^s. They are instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, Latin and English grammar, the art of speaking, geography, and other parts of literature that they may wish for. It contains at present about 50 members, males and females.

As to the enquiry concerning the consumption and effects of spirituous liquors, I am able to give you but little satisfaction. It is a difficult & delicate matter to calculate and decide upon. I have enquired of our Excise Master concerning the quantity consumed in this county in the course of one year; but he is now unable to give me a regular and exact account. And if he had been able to have done it, I should have been as much at a loss in making a calculation of its effects. That much the greatest part that is expended is not only *unnecessary*, but also very *pernicious*, is very obvious to the most cursory observer. That many good estates are in this way squandered, and much time, labor, health, and many lives wasted and destroyed, no one can be so blind as not to see & acknowledge. But in many of these cases there are so many other concurring circumstances that come in to the aid of spirituous liquor for the production of the fatal event, that in my view anything near an exact calculation is extremely difficult; and I feel myself so far from being able to *decide* on the case, that I should hardly dare to risque a *conjecture* upon it. A great and general abuse in this point is most manifest to all; and I view it as one of the most heavy and threatening evils that our country at present groans under; and if we could by enquiry find out any *remedy* for the evil, it would be more to the purpose than the most exact calculation on the *quantity* of it.

The baptisms in my parish in the course of 30 years are about 350. And not one half, I judge, that have been born in that space have been baptized in any form.

The number of marriages I cannot at present ascertain. Those at which I have officiated are 174, not all within my parish.

There are two ironworks only in this county, — a furnace at Winchester, and a forge at Cleremont.

I ought to have added before this last article, that I cannot find that there has been any regular bill of mortality kept in this town from the first settlement of it to the present day. The people in this town have ever been uncommonly healthy and prolific, consisting almost altogether of young encreasing families; and it would much please me if I could ascertain the progress of society amongst us.

Your map, so far as I have observed, and am acquainted with this State, is correctly and well done. I think it very probable that I could dispose of a doz. or more of them upon your terms, and should take pleasure in serving you in that way.

Thus, Sir, I think I have attended, after a poor manner indeed, to the several matters you suggested. If I had enjoyed health (which thanks to God is now mending) I might have done better, or rather not quite so badly.

I designed to have made some additions of my own suggestion; but at present feel myself unequal to it. I think myself honoured and happy in being the servant of the learned and industrious, and in doing a little to animate and assist those who are reputably serving their generation.

I am waiting impatiently to see your History completed, and wish you progress and success in all your efforts for the information and happiness of your fellow men.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and obliged brother,

BULKLEY OLCOTT.

Rev^d M^r Belknap.

PAINE WINGATE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 5, 1792.

REVⁿ AND DEAR SIR,—I have received your favours of Nov. 5 and Dec. 21 last. The enclosures in your first letter I delivered to the gentlemen to whom they were addressed, but had not an opportunity of knowing their sentiments respecting the proposed publication of your son, excepting that of your friend, M^r Hazard, who told me that he should be very glad to see it encouraged, & should himself be a subscriber. I am glad to find that there appears already encouragement sufficient to induce the experiment of the publication, and hope that your son & his partner will find their interest in the attempt. I wish to be a subscriber myself, and will be ready to promote the subscription of others, so far as I have any influence, believing it to be of public utility.*

I am able to give you but little information respecting the late disaster of our western army more than has been published in the newspapers, and I dont think that I have sufficient knowledge of the conduct of those concerned in that business to undertake to give an opinion respecting it. I will enclose to you a report of the Secretary of State, which may give you some idea of the quantity of lands which have been purchased of the Indians, & whose claims thereto have been extinguished. There is a dispute whether those tribes who have by treaty conveyed some of those lands had an exclusive right to make those conveyances. It is not pretended that the United States

* The reference is to the "American Apollo," of which the first number was issued by Belknap and Young, in January, 1792. (See 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. p. 277, note; Proc., vol. i. pp. xxii., 23.) — EDS.

had purchased those lands of the Indians where the forts were to have been erected, but it is said that the hostile conduct of the Indians would justify the measure, & that it was the likeliest method to reduce them to peace. No plan has yet been proposed to Congress for conducting the future operations of the Indian war. I expect that measures will be proposed, and probably agreed to, which will subject the United States to very considerable expence, if not other disagreeable consequences. For my part I have not been heretofore, neither am I now, in favour of prosecuting the war; but it is not very easy to be satisfied what is expedient or necessary in the present situation of affairs. You must excuse me for not adding any more on this very disagreeable subject. I thank you for your kind wishes and friendly acknowledgement, and shall be happy in continuing to enjoy them.

We go on as usual in the business before Congress very slowly; if we go surely, the time may not be begrudged. The most important bill which has been before the Senate is that for establishing a mint. This has had two readings, and been thoroughly discussed, & probably to-morrow will go to the other House for their consideration. A number of other matters have been in progress, & I hope as we approach toward the close of the session we shall be more expeditious in perfecting those things which have been ripening by discussions. I see no prospect that Congress will adjourn before April, but hope that at farthest it will be early in that month, when I may have the pleasure of revisiting my family & Eastern friends.

I desire my compliments to M^{rs} Belknap, and be assured that I am, with great esteem & affection, your friend and humble servant,

PAINE WINGATE.

Rev^d Mr Belknap.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

BOSTON, Jan^y 21, 1792.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR, — I had the pleasure of receiving in Philadelphia your very kind favour of the 21st ult^o.

You observe that you intend to form one letter from my several letters, &c., and that it shall contain none but my own expressions. For this I cannot thank you. If there are any ideas which you think may be useful, why should you not give them to your country in a language the most clear and pleasing? If they go before the public, they should, in my opinion, go in that way. This will remove from my mind all objections to your publishing them. It cannot be important to the world to know when or where you collected them. The only important question is, Are they facts? †

Before you shall have finished reading this letter, you will be pretty competent to a solution of the question whether I am, or am not, again putting on the sword as a garb of war against the Indians.

When the public mind is in a state of agitation, when the distresses of individuals become peculiar, and the general tranquility is disturbed, it is the duty of each citizen to investigate the causes of such misfortunes,

* Benjamin Lincoln was born in Hingham, Jan. 23, 1733. At the opening of the war he was a Major General of militia; and in 1777 he was appointed by Congress to the same rank in the Continental army. In 1778 he was assigned to the command of the Southern army, but in the spring of 1780 he was obliged to capitulate at Charleston, S. C., to a greatly superior force. At the siege of Yorktown he commanded a division, and received the submission of the conquered army. From 1781 to 1784 he was Secretary of War. In 1787 he commanded the forces which suppressed Shays's insurrection. He afterward filled various civil offices, and was much interested in scientific and literary pursuits. He died in Hingham, May 9, 1810. — Eds.

† The reference here is probably to a letter from General Lincoln "On the Migration of Fishes," in the Appendix to the third volume of Dr. Belknap's History of New Hampshire. Two communications from General Lincoln relating to the District of Maine are in the fourth volume of the Massachusetts Historical Collections, issued in 1794, of the publishing committee of which volume Dr. Belknap was chairman. — Eds.

and, as far as he has the power, to remove the grounds of them.

No person can hear without concern the unhappy situation in which, from some cause or other, we are involved, by a war with many of the tribes of Indians within the stipulated limits of the United States.

Notwithstanding my perfect confidence in our worthy President, and firm belief that justice and wisdom will be the basis of all his measures, that he will cause his plans to be executed with clemency, and that he will be more anxious to tender the olive branch than use the sword, yet I feel it as a very great misfortune that we are thus involved, and that we have found it necessary to attempt that by arms which would certainly in the natural course of things have come to pass in a way consistent with the feelings of the most tender breast.

Civilization is the most fatal enemy by which barbarism can be surrounded. It is the parent of population, the protector of the fair, the guardian of the mother, the nurse of the infant, the patron of those arts by which we are taught how to procure the necessities of life for a large number of people within the narrow limits of a small tract of country. It enlarges our views, leaves us to form those social compacts which lay the foundation of vigorous and speedy operations. It directs us to those important inquiries which call into exercise all the powers of the human mind. It dispels the clouds of ignorance and darkness by which the uncivilized mind is incircled, and turns to the page on which we may read the dignity of our natures. Thus civilization possesses advantages peculiar to itself, and from its very nature must operate to the extirpation of barbarism.

Lest, however, you should think these observations too speculative, and that facts should be adduced to establish a point of so much importance, I will direct your attention to the history of our own country.

That moment the civilized E[u]ropeans gained footing on the American shores, they laid a sure foundation whereby they might secure, and that by the most *righteous* means, all the territory they ever should want. Their mode of life was calculated to counteract the designs of the natives. Civilized and uncivilized people cannot live in the same territory, or even in the same neighbourhood. Civilization directs us to remove as fast as possible that natural growth from the lands which is absolutely essential for the food and hiding-place of those beasts of the forests upon which the uncivilized principally depend for support. This drives such beasts from their former haunts, and directs them to seek ranges more safe and friendly. Herein, however, they do not find an asylum fitted to their demands; for they soon discover that the forests in which they sought a retreat are incapable of giving them an ample support. Their numbers of consequence must be reduced, or the whole rendered less valuable by that state of poverty to which they would be subjected by their not receiving a full supply of food. Besides, the first care of the Europeans was to possess themselves of the seashores, and secure the exclusive privileges of the shell and other fish on which the natives had from long experience been taught to depend. It is not uncommon for them in summer to descend the rivers hundreds of miles to the seashore for that food and air which are essential to their health. By our first possessions we secured the mouths of all the rivers within our limits. This had a very extensive and unhappy influence on the natives; for the rivers abounded with fish of different kinds, which annually went to the source of them to lodge their spawns, & gave a supply to the native inhabitants of the country untill the passages up those rivers were interrupted by mills, &c. Hence a source from which large supplies had been drawn was dried up, to the great injury of the tribes who had from time immemorial been nourished by them.

That many of the tribes have become extinct since our first settlement in this country, is a fact too well established at this day to need proof. Many others, reduced by famine, war, and disease, became so considerable that they have been admitted into neighbouring tribes, and are now totally lost in them.

As we have extended our possessions, and increased our cultivations, we have rendered those possessions and the country in their vicinity of no importance to the natives. For the game essential to their life and happiness immediately retires from the neighbourhood of a peopled & cultivated territory. As often as this has been discovered by an improvident race, the lands so abandoned have been easily obtained from them, and soon also become peopled.

In proportion as their limits have been circumscribed, their numbers have necessarily decreased. For the number of inhabitants always must be controuled by the means of subsistence. This has been an easy and a natural mode of extending our limits. There have been instances of attempting it in a different way; but war, bloodshed, & carnage have been & continue to be the consequence. And we should remember that this always must be the case in all instances wherein *we attempt to enlarge our borders faster than they are enlarged by the natural retirement of the savages in consequence of the advantages resulting from civilization.* I believe it a truth well founded, that each tribe contains as great a number as can be supported within the limits assigned it. For this cause, therefore, one tribe cannot be driven from its own territory without immediate injury, sickness, and death.

That the several tribes are thus full, and that to obtain a supply of food is a laborious task to them, will be evinced by a little attention to the history of these people. From the difficulties which they experience in obtaining

support, and from the sufferings which they endure by the want of food, we find that many arts are practised by the wives to prevent, as much as possible, the increase of children and the augmentation of their families.

If it shall appear on enquiry that the natives in a natural course of things have always retired as fast as we could fill up the chasms, must it not excite our surprise that an attempt hazardous in itself, injurious to others, & problematical with respect to its issue, should be made to precipitate an event which in the very nature of things must necessarily take place?

I have not been altogether pleased with the conversation upon the subject of Indian affairs. The ideas entertained by our forefathers, that God was miraculously interposing his authority in their favour in transplanting them here and in driving out *the heathen* before them, seems to have gained a general reception. I think it is true of bodies of men, as well as of individuals, that the moment they consider themselves the peculiar favourites of Heaven they become vain in their imaginations, and though I will not say that they appear in the uncomely garb of their own righteousness, yet I will venture to affirm that it would be fortunate for mankind if in all instances it should clearly appear that they were clothed with the mantle of justice, mercy, and humility, which are the brightest ornaments of human nature. When I hear persons say that there is not any faith to be kept with savages, that they are not entitled to that justice, and that nothing is to be done with them but to spread fire and sword over the face of their country, and to slay them wherever they can be found, I shudder at the sentiment. I, however, think the time will come when they will be either civilized or extinct.

You will observe that I have not made any observations on the right the natives have to the soil. I believe, however, that in all instances where they have not trans-

ferred their right it remains compleat. Although I think the savages will retire before light and truth, and make way for its becoming universal, yet to hasten this by unrighteous measures would be as improper as it would be to remove by unlawfull acts the present generation, because it is evident that God in his providence will remove them & make way for another.*

I beg you will consider that these observations are intended for your own eye solely, & made with a design to call up your attention to the subject from a hope that in some leisure hour you will do justice to it.

I have the honour of being, reverend and dear Sir, with the highest esteem, your friend and servant,

B. LINCOLN.

Rev^d Mr Belknap.

PAINE WINGATE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston, Massachusetts. P. Wingate.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 30, 1792.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — I have received your favour of the 15th instant, with the enclosures, and will thank you to forward to me your son's papers as you have proposed, whilst I shall remain in this city, which probably will be until the beginning of April. I will now enclose to you a newspaper containing some further information relative to Indian affairs. Whether it contains the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, I am not able to say, and whether it fully justifies all the proceedings which have been, and which are about to be, taken in military operations, you must judge for yourself. The plan proposed to

* Some parts of this letter were printed in the "American Apollo," No. 8, as the substance of a conversation of some gentlemen on "The Western Territory and the Indian War." The letter bears marks of careful revision by the hand of Mr. Belknap, apparently with the view of placing the original manuscript in the hands of a printer. But this does not seem to have been done, and he probably made a different use of it from what he at first intended — EDS.

Congress for the present year is to increase our regular troops to upward of five thousand men, with the addition of woodsmen, militia, & Indians, as may be found wanting, and endeavour to induce the hostile tribes to peace by friendly offers or by force, as one or the other shall be judged expedient. A majority of the House of Representatives appear in favour of the plan, & I think it probable that it will pass into a law, thô not without general reluctance & decided opposition of some. I cannot be more particular at present, & have nothing more of consequence to mention.

I am, d^r S^r, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

PAINE WINGATE.

Rev^d Mr Belknap.

PAINE WINGATE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston, Massachusetts. P. Wingate.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 2^d, 1792.

DEAR SIR, — I will enclose to you two newspapers containing the debates in the House of Representatives on the military bill, which has passed that house, 29 to 19, & has been brôt to the Senate, but no opinion has been given upon it in that house. The ways & means of procuring the necessary supplies of money to carry the plan into execution is now before the House of Representatives, and is not a little embarrassing. It is supposed that about one & a half million of dollars will be requisite for the present year, if the full extent of the bill should be carried into operation. The subject is too disgusting to me to dwell any longer upon, & shall leave you to judge for yourself.

I am, d^r S^r, your affectionate friend,

PAINE WINGATE.

Rev^d Mr Belknap.

MICHAEL JOY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Mr Jeremy Belknap, Boston. ¶ Capt. Davis.

CLAPHAM, 15th Feby., 1792.

MY DEAR SIR, — Several of your letters have reached me since I had the pleasure of addressing you, & I am under the necessity (tho' almost ashamed of it) to plead want of time to reply so fully as I wish. I have only been able to read about half the 2^d vol. of y^r History. I am much pleased with it. Y^r account of the Cape Breton expedition entertained me exceedingly. The relations of the predatory incursions of the Indians will doubtless gratify those families who suffered by them, but appear too particular & minute for the world, by whom I trust this History will be read. The number of Jewish names (for they can't be called Xtian) remind me of what Cowley said of one of Cromwell's regiments, "that at roll-call the serjeant made use of the 1st chapter of Mathew." When you say, "The Eastern people had not a good character for religion," is it not meant, had not a good moral character? However our ancestors may have confounded them, they are surely very distinct. I hope the 3^d volume will soon follow. You of course put me in your list of subscribers. I shall buy a 3^d vol. here of Dilly, as I have the 2^d, but I want another set which my brother will receive & pay for. He will also pay the advance, &c. for the American Apolly, & forward me the papers, for which he will have more frequent opportunities than you would. To any other publications of yours you will please to enter me as a subscriber, & to deliver the books & receive the money from my brother.

I have no connexions, nor do I know of any avenues thro' which I could seek the biographical anecdotes & information you wish. I have not a single acquaintance among the gentlemen who left America on account of the

Revolution. The fugitive publications relative to Burgoyne, Cornwallis, &c., were mere ephemera, & have long since been consigned to the pastry cooks & trunkmakers, — to “the tomb of all the Capulets.” Should any thing fall in my way which I think will contribute to forward your biographical works or laudable designs of the Historical Society, I shall have great pleasure in sending it to you, but my residence out of town is less favorable to this than my wishes.

I received from Dilly the guinea, & enclose the bill of parcells for the types & rules. They are in one parcell in the care of Cap^t Davis.

I beg you to beleive me, very truly,

Y^r friend & m^o hble. serv^t,

M. Joy.

Mr. J. Belknap.

PAINE WINGATE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Reverend Jeremy Belknap, Boston, Massachusetts. P. Wingate.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 20th, 1792.

DEAR SIR,—I have received the three first numbers and the fifth number of the American Apollo, but the fourth number has by some means failed coming on. I conclude that it was sent to me, but miscarried on the road. As I wish to preserve those numbers entire, I will thank you to send me the fourth number, if any spare one is to be had. The last number came to me without a cover, which renders it more liable to be taken away by some person who has not a right to it, & thereby lost. I should therefore be glad to have my paper, whilst I remain here, sent to me in the form of a letter, which probably will come safe; and M^r Hazard wishes his might be enclosed with mine, which would make no additional trouble or expence.

I have nothing of any consequence to mention to you. The military bill has had a long discussion in the Senate, and when the question on raising the three additional regiments of regular troops was taken, the Senate divided 13 against & 12 in favour of raising them. But when the bill was further pursued, one of the 13 was induced to change his vote, & two other members attended, by which means the 12 were increased to 15, & I suppose the bill will be carried thro' nearly as it came from the other house. On the subject of the Indian war Mr Strong has given his ideas very fully, reprobating the plan proposed as being inconsistent both with justice & sound policy, and exerted himself more than usual with his good sense & fair arguing.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate friend & humble servant,

PAINÉ WINGATE.

Rev^d Mr Belknap.

ANDREW BROWN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

The Reverend Jeremiah Belknap, one of the Ministers of Boston.

LONDON, Febr^y 20th, 1792.

MY GOOD FRIEND, — After a very agreeable passage I got here about the 10th of Jan^y, and have since been busy and idle at the same time. Day after day has gone over my head and been occupied in something, but has left

* Rev. Andrew Brown, D.D., a Scotchman by birth, was for some time minister of a church in Halifax, N. S., but subsequently returned to Scotland. While at Halifax he was the author of at least two sermons which were printed; and in April, 1793, he was elected a Corresponding Member of the Historical Society. He was introduced to Mr. Belknap by a letter from Samson S. Blowers, dated Sept. 24, 1791, in which the writer says: "I cannot permit my very particular friend, Doct^r Andrew Brown, minister of the Scotch Church in this place, to visit Boston without giving him a letter of introduction to you. I am confident that I am contributing to the pleasure of you both by this step. He is a gentleman of the most amiable manners, and as much esteemed here for the goodness of his heart as the soundness of his understanding and extensive reading. He has turned his attention to an History of Nova Scotia, and must be much pleased with an opportunity of knowing and conversing with the historian of New Hampshire." — Eds.

very little trace either of thought or acquirement. The eye cannot be satisfied with seeing, nor the ear with hearing, in this great metropolis. The stranger is lost in a multiplicity of objects, and needs much the assistance and direction of an able guide.

During the time of my stay with you, Gov^r Parr paid the debt to nature, and your old friend, Gov^r Wentworth, has succeeded to the vacant chair. It was of great service to him that he was on the spot, ready to submit his services and claims to the government. This appointment has been of some service to me, having facilitated my business here in a very essential manner.

By the care and recommendation of some of my friends from Nova Scotia, I have procured admission to the Plantation Office; but one can only see and admire the wisdom, the method, and the judiciousness of the old Board of Trade at a distance. To descend into particulars, to make separate and correct examinations of their reports, and to collect the colonial policy and views of Great Britain, would require Nestor's age and the patience of the greatest book-moth that ever eat paper.

I delivered your letters to Gov^r Wentworth & Mr Dilly soon after my arrival. The last gentleman, I find, is become a great editor, and a feaster of wits. His table swarms with them, if report says true; & 'tis a miserable thing that they who ought to receive from authors should always have the pleasure of giving to them. From Mr Dilly's shop a celebrated poem, entitled "Calvary," has just made its appearance. It proceeds from the Muse that inspired the "West Indian." The subject and the genius of the author ought to make it a favourite among ecclesiastics; and so it would, had not the avidity of the author and the bookseller sent it abroad in an unattainable form, a large quarto, price 10/6.

The controversy about the rights of men, Old Whigs & New Whigs, the French Revolution, and the necessity

of domestic reform, still subsists among the writing tribe, but has palled the appetite of readers, and must in time die away. The truth is, that the situation of Great Britain is truly enviable, and that no country can have more good cause than she has to be contented and grateful. Trade and commerce were never more flourishing. Nor has there been an æra when the balance was so greatly in favour of the nation. The taxes have been so very productive that, notwithstanding the late armaments, the Min^r will have it in his power to drop some that set peculiarly hard upon the poor. Affairs in India are expected to proceed advantageously, and public securities have risen to an unprecedented height. I wish I could say as much of our ancient rivals; but if I did, it would not be the truth. Every instance that history has recorded of revolutions and reformatations proves them to be both dangerous and destructive events. The age in which they are effected seldom receives much of the benefit resulting from them. Their blessings await posterity. The want of religion and morals makes the present state of France peculiarly alarming. A voluptuous and corrupted people are let loose from restraint; their passions are unbounded, and the gratification of them hurries them on to the most desperate deeds. Ancient distinctions being destroyed, an undisciplined democracy thinks there is no controul, deems all things open to all, and leaves no confidence or security in the land. How many Shays' are there now in France with a worse banditti than ever followed that insurgent? It is supposed by some that the Germanic body will be put in motion; but others say it is too unwieldy f[or action], and can only hang together when at re[st]. The affairs of France are at present the subject of chief [in]vestigation, and I wish they may come to good. This will be an important summer in that kingdom, and upon the tenor of proceedings during it much will depend.

Altho' I had nothing material to communicate, I could not refuse myself the pleasure of embracing the opportunity of Barnard's return to acknowledge my obligations to you for the kind attentions I received from you at Boston, to say how very satisfactory it will be to me to hear often from you in Halifax, to offer my best compliments to M^{rs} Belknap and the family, and to assure you that I have the happiness [to] be, with much regard, my good friend,

Your very obliged servant and most sincere wellwisher,

ANDREW BROWN.

PAINE WINGATE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, March 5, 1792.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your favour of 17th ultimo, and will, agreeably to your request, enclose Cornplanter's speech, and some other newspapers which may perhaps afford you some further ideas respecting the Indian war. The military bill has at last passed both houses of Congress, nearly as at first agreed to in the House of Representatives, thô not without strong opposition. The plan of operation proposed will probably cost the United States this year more than a million of dollars; and how many years more the like expence will be incurred in this disagreeable war, time must determine. I think of nothing material to mention to you respecting Congressional business, and will only add that I am

Your affectionate friend & humble servant,

PAINE WINGATE.

Rev^d Mr Belknap.

PAINE WINGATE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston. P. Wingate.

PHILADELPHIA, Mar. 29, 92.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your favour of 29th ultimo, and delivered your enclosure to Mr Hazard. You wish to hear from me further on the subject of the Indian war. I do not know anything at present worth communicating respecting this disagreeable business. We begin to feel not a little embarrassed for resources. The extending the impost duties, which has been proposed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and which I suppose must be resorted to, will not, I presume, be very agreeable to many of the mercantile line. But I will not trouble you with any further political remarks. I hope to have the pleasure soon of seeing you, when we may have the opportunity of conversing on Congressional business. I have received the American Apollo to Number 11 inclusive, except No. 4 & No. 8, which by some means failed coming. I wish those numbers, as well as those which may be printed after this letter shall come to hand, may be reserved by you until I shall return, as I hope we shall adjourn shortly, & would not have the papers come on after I shall leave this city.

I am, Sir, your affectionate friend & humble servant,

PAINE WINGATE.

Rev^d Mr Belknap.

BULKLEY OLCOTT TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

*Reverend Jeremy Belknap, Seven Star Lane, near Trinity Church,
Boston.*

CHARLESTOWN, N. H, April 3^d, 1792.

REV^p SIR, — I should not have neglected a communication to you till this time had not a special Providence otherways engaged me. We have had a second attack

of the small pox in my family. My son broke out with it the latter part of Feb. By what means it was conveyed to him we are not able to discover.

My friends and neighbours all judged it most prudent and advised us to take refuge for future safety in that preventive which a kind Providence has discovered as a safeguard against one of the most formidable diseases in nature. Accordingly, my whole family have been under the operation of the disorder by inoculation; and thro the smiles of a good Providence have had a moderate degree of it, and all returned home well about five days ago. We exceedingly rejoice in our present good fortune and future security, haveing one less evil in life to fear.

As to the affair respecting the College, concern^g which you desired me to write to you, I am sorry that I have been oblinded to neglect it so long. According to the knowledge I have obtained of it, it is situated exactly in the follow^g manner. Donations in lands were subscribed for the College, and monies for the erecting buildings; and some reference might be had in some instances of those donations to the Indian School connected with the College. The monies intrusted with the Society or Board of Trustees in Scotland were employed in the improvement of those lands, and to assist in erecting the above mentioned buildings; and some of it, so far as I can find, in supporting the officers of College and School. Now, in this view of the matter, you, Sir, can judge as well as I, or any one else, how far a distinction between the interests of College and School has been preserved, or is capable of being now formed. At this promiscuous use of College & School interests the Society in Scotland took umbrage, and withheld their monies. To satisfy them that no perversion has taken place, a discrimination has been attempted by Dartmouth Board of Trustees, year after year, but all in vain. About half the Board will still

assert that it is practicable ; the other half think it impossible. It is, however, agreed in by all at last, that it is good policy to drop the dispute, as it might eventually obstruct the reception of more monies from Scotland. And for the same reason it may be best for the *historian*, *at present*, to let the matter sleep in silence.

I cannot assert that the Society's money has been perverted, but have reason to believe, on the contrary, that it has not, at least intentionally. But to trace out the effects of it, and the improvement that has been made of it, is, I confess, beyond me, and I presume also beyond — & —.

Possibly what you have published, tho not founded in fact, as to which you can be easily vindicated, may eventually be servicable to our literary institution, and in this event we shall all rejoice.

When your History is completed, be so kind as to let me know it, and I shall send for the two last V's, and will send you the money.

I remain, with much esteem, your friend and brother,

BULKLEY OLCOTT.

Rev^d M^r Belknap.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

DEAR SIR,—I have read M^r Paine's 2nd publication on the rights of man with great pleasure. All his images are arguments, and even a single word in many instances conveys a group of sublime and original ideas. I wish that work was more popular at the head quarters of our government. A public debt and war carry with them the seeds of hereditary power. We must discharge the former, and put an end to the latter, or all our ideas of republicanism will vanish in air. I am, & have been several years before the memorable 1776, a republican in principle, not only because I conceive republican gov-

ements are most conformable to reason, but to revelation likewise. The pride of monarchy, and the servility of that state which it induces in all its subjects, are alike contrary to the humility and dignity of the Christian character. It is the spirit of the Gospel (tho' unacknowledged) which is now rooting monarchy out of the world. Truth in this case is *springing up from that earth which helped the woman*. It would exceed the limits of a letter, or I could quote you many passages of Scripture that are directly in point against all kingly power under the Gospel dispensation. How truly worthy of a God who stiles himself Love is that religion which is opposed to everything which disturbs or violates the order and happiness of society, whether that society consists in the relation of individuals or of nature to each other! Yes, my friend, I anticipate with a joy which I cannot describe the speedy end of the misery of the Africans, of the tyranny of kings, of the pride of ecclesiastical institutions, whether founded in the absurd ideas of Apostolic Succession, or in the aristocracy of Presbyterianism. Connected with the same events, I anticipate the end of war, and such a superlative tenderness for human life as will exterminate capital punishments from all our systems of legislation. In the mean while, let us not be idle with such prospects before our eyes. Heaven works by instruments, and even supernatural prophecies are fulfilled by natural means. It is possible we may not live to witness the approaching regeneration of our world, but the more active we are in bringing it about, the more fitted we shall be for that world where justice and benevolence eternally prevail.

The Africans have lately formed themselves into a religious society in our city. They have adopted articles and a form of church government (purely republican) peculiar to themselves. The old and established societies look shy at them, each having lost some of its members by the new association. To feel or to exercise the true

spirit of the Gospel now a days seems to require a total seperation from all sects, for they all seem more devoted to their forms or opinions than to the doctrines and precepts of Jesus Christ. But, in spite of neglect, the poor blacks will succeed in forming themselves into a distinct independant church. They have bought a lot on which they propose to erect a large place of worship. In the mean while they meet in a schoolhouse which accommodates about 500 persons. Their worship is simple, but uncommonly solemn. All this is between friends.

Adieu. From, d^r Sir, yours sincerely,

BENJⁿ RUSH.

PHILADELPHIA, 21 June, 1792.

Indorsed by Mr. Belknap, "Dr. Rush. 21 June, 1792. Republicanism."

JEREMIAH LIBBEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, Boston. 20 Paid.

PORTSMOUTH, June 22^d, 1792.

DEAR SIR, — I rec^d your favour of the 16th instant, and have inclosed the statement of my acc^t for your examination; do examine it with yours, and inform me how you find it.

The Convention of this State for revising the Constitution, when met for the purpose of receiving the people's approbation of their proposed amendments, found that so much had been rec^d and such parts rejected as to nearly destroy the whole. They therefore had to begin on another plan, and send it out again for the people to reject or accept in whole, and not in parts, for *before* the parts that were accepted, being arranged without the other parts which were rejected, made a sad jumble.

The subscribers and others here think your waiting for the Constitution of this State to be compleated before

you have your 3^d volume bound will be much against your interest, and they wish to have it as soon as you can have it done. The Portsmouth Library are desirous of the set they engaged, and would have them stamp'd on the *outside cover*, (and not on a piece to be pasted on,) *Portsmouth Library*. Judge Parker of Exeter also wants one set neatly bound.

I have had some conversation with M^r Sheafe, one of the Senate, respecting your application. He tho't from the then appearances nothing would be done for you. I enquired the cause. He said the Court, he tho't, were disposed to have done something, but there was not judgement used in the time and manner of presenting the memorial (this was last week). I had not time to make any further enquirys; some person coming in prevented. The Court, I hear, is to rise tonight, and when M^r Sheafe returns I will be more particular, and if I can find anything for your interest will communicate it.

I saw M^r Hale, and conversed with him on your action with Clapham. He said Mr. Clapham had assured him he would pay the money before the Court came on, but if he did not, he should certainly pursue it.

I am really sorry you are hard pressed for money, but hope your resolution and industry will remove the pressure, and that you will yet find the History turn out for your interest. I need not say, that any service in my power to make it so will add to my own satisfaction.

I rec^d a letter some time since from our friend Hazard, informing me that his printer had sent to you the 1st volume of his Collection of State Papers, and that I should get one from you for our Library. If they are come to hand, and you will send one by Huntress, I will send you the money.

As we cannot now write to each other without expence, as formerly, I will just mention that M^r Pickering, the P. M. G., has wrote me several kind letters in answer

to some of mine, wherein I took the liberty to point out what I tho't *errors* in the arrangements of the roads, riders, &c. In his last letter to me, he says it is probable "I shall be at Portsmouth the beginning of July," so that I hope to have the pleasure of seeing him, and representing to him the real situation of the office here, and the duty I have to do. But whether it is in his power to make me any further allowance, I do not know. The duty is now very considerably increas'd, and the compensation decreased, which is not very agreeable. The confinement is so great & the duty considerable, while the recompence is so small, that I have some very serious tho'ts of resigning unless something equivalent for the service can be obtaind. I have been so long in the business that I acknowledge I should like to continue in it, if I could have a reward for it; but as I have not concluded, and do not choose to be hasty, I wish for your advice in this matter.

The several D. P. Masters have presented a memorial to Congress on the priviledge of franking being taken from them, and it was handed to me to sign; but I did not choose to sign it, but wait to see how things would operate, and try some other mode for redress. Did I do right, or ought I to have signed it? My whole compensation for the last three months was £10.5/3, i. e. £41.1/ P annum. Is that worth my while to be confin'd in the manner I am now obliged to be? When you have time to think of this for me, and can make up your mind, please to write me. Put your letter in the office. I'll pay the postage.

I am, dear Sir, your obliged friend & hum. serv't,

JEREMIAH LIBBEY.

P. S. Please make my respects to Mr Clarke.

Do inform your son that *N. Adams*, Esq., Mr *Peter Coffin*, and Capt. *T. Thompson* desires that the *Apollo* for them may be stopt at the end of the six months, which

is next month, and that on rec^d the bills they shall be paid. If he will send them to me, I will get the money & send it.

JOHN WENTWORTH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

HALIFAX, June 22nd, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,—The vessel by which this letter is to be conveyed has been suddenly appointed to the voyage. I am therefore compelled to embrace the only moment left me to make my best thanks for your kind letter of 6th June. Be assured, my dear friend, I feel myself happy in your congratulations on my appointment to the government of this Province. In every situation of life the friendship of those I most esteem and respect must be numbered among those things that I most covet. Our friend, D^r Brown, delivered your letter & the 2^d vol. of your History to me in London. I also rec^ded the proposals you inclosed to me for the Collection of literary papers. M^r Blowers has given me the books in his care. Before I can perfectly answer your request about the papers to be deposited with your Society, I must beg you to give me a list of what they are, for I have mislaid my own. I shall transmit you from time to time all such as I can spare, or that may fall in my way, which may be conducive to your design. I have many things to write you, but am now so urged by a multitude of various business that I can only now assure you of the sincere regard of your affect^d friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

PAINE WINGATE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

PHILAD^a, Dec. 11, 1792.

REV^d AND D^r SIR,—I have received your several letters enclosing your Century Sermon with the Disser-

tations annexed, which I have read with pleasure, and delivered to Mr Hazard, agreeably to your request. I also delivered to him the receipt of the master of a vessel which you enclosed. When I conversed with Mr Hazard, he told me that he had been so much engaged in building his house and moving his family that he had not had time to pay much attention to your proposal respecting your sermon, but should keep it in his mind and do what he could to promote your wishes. I have handed to the Senate your subscription paper, and a number have subscribed, which paper I shall now return to you. Sermons are not much the taste of the present day, however unusual the subject or ingeniously treated, and therefore I cannot say much for the encouragement of a republication of yours in this city at present, thô Mr Hazard will be able to give you an opinion more to be depended upon than mine. I have not heard from Mr Gains at New York since I sent to him the subscription paper, as I informed you in my last. Probably he may transmit it to you, if attended with any success. Any service I can render to you in this or any concern of yours I shall do with pleasure at all times.

As to Congressional news we have very little, & that I conclude you will see in the newspapers as early & more minute than I am able to give you. Much pains have been taken to prejudice the Electors against the Vice President in giving their votes for President & Vice President; but now it is considered as beyond doubt that Mr Adams will have a majority of votes. He has all the votes in New Jersies, in Delawar, & probably in Maryland, & all but one in Pennsylvania. It is supposed that he will have some votes in the Southern States, thô these are not expected to be necessary to give him a majority of votes, as it is probable that the New England States will nearly all, if not wholly, vote for Mr Adams. Desiring my best respects to M^{rs} Belknap & love to Mr Clarke

& family, I am, with particular esteem & friendship, your most obedient & humble servant,

PAINÉ WINGATE.

Rev^d Mr Belknap.

ANDREW BROWN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

*The Reverend Jeremy Belknap, one of the Ministers of Boston,
New England.*

HALIFAX, Dec: 31st, 1792.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR, — Your kind letter which awaited my arrival is now before me, and its contents were highly acceptable. In order to shew you how much I value the correspondence, and how anxious I am to retain it, I have embraced the earliest opportunity which many avocations have allowed me to return my thanks and such communication as I have to give for yours.

I have presented your salutations to my Rib from Scotland on her arrival in America. They were highly acceptable, and she sends hers in return to you, M^{rs} Belknap, and the young ladies. I should not have regretted the circuitous voyage at all had an opportunity occurred of shewing her Boston in her way to Halifax; for I cherish with much satisfaction the remembrance of the kindness of its inhabitants and the happy days I passed in their society. You are the most hospitable and generous people I have yet seen, and your reception and treatment of *strangers* approaches pretty nearly to the reception & treatment of *kindred* in other countries.

You will not think it surprizing that the land of cakes, old Caledonia, detained me so long “midst its embowering groves, and its rivers known to song.” Few people who have not felt it can easily conceive the pleasure that springs up in the bosom on revisiting a native spot, on taking a friend by the hand after a long separation, and on viewing the sacred ground where the ashes of a father

and of kinsmen repose. I traversed Scotland with a new interest, and perhaps with a different eye, from what I should have done if I had never been in America.

Many changes have taken place there during the short absence of 5 years. Population and riches are increasing with rapid and equal pace. But the industry of the individual is directed to new objects. A different plan of rural œconomy and managing estates has diminished the number of farmers and of the dependents on farmers. The small leaseholders, with their cottages and *kail-yards* have disappeared, and a new species, known by the name of gentlemen farmers, have occupied their room. To accommodate these opulent tenants, house has been added to house & field to field. Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* occurs to the traveller's mind, and many a lovely Auburn is sought, but is not to be found. The inhabitants who embellished them by their industry, and dignified them by their innocence, have been driven to the workshop or to the wilderness of a new world.

The usual consequences have followed the introduction of arts and manufactures. Knowledge is no longer the prominent feature in the character of Scotsmen. Formerly the parents had no other way of disposing of their children than by sending them to the village school, where they made considerable proficiency in reading and writing before they were ready for country labour or entering to an apprenticeship. But now parents can get wages for their children so soon as they are capable of picking cotton, or indeed of speaking the language. They are trained on the floor of the manufactory, instead of that of the school, and are early corrupted by bad example. The eye of the master is far distant, and if the daily task is performed, the overseer has no business to interfere. All the vices of the trades are beginning to appear, and, as great wages are earned by the ingenious workman, he has it in his power to be a profligate on

a great scale. Unhappily, too, it will be still worse in the next generation than in the present.

The literature of Scotland continues to do it honour. But when we consider the advantages which scholars enjoy in Europe, the perfection of their works is less to be wondered at. For many centuries Europe has been collecting the spoils of the world. The history and productions of all nations have been made a kind of common stock to the men who think. The philosophy of Zoroaster, and the tenets of Brama, the institute of Confucius, and the rude opinions of savage tribes, find their way to that grand repository. And only think of the feast which the literary men of Edinb^r enjoy in the upper room of the College Library, in the exclusive perusal of the standard books in every science, in the discussion of interesting topics, and in the friendly communication of remarks and improvements. Criticism and friendship are there the same, and every book passes the ordeal before it makes its appearance in public.

But there is no end to remarks of this kind. Leaving, therefore, this immeasurable field with professing my readiness to inform you, to the best of my power, on any subject you may hereafter propose, I proceed to an article more interesting to myself.

I have for some time past amused myself with historical researches and collections concerning this country, and in the course of them have been led to extend my views to New Eng^d in general, and the French settlements in the neighbourhood. This ground is well known to you, and I should count myself much obliged to you for a few observations on the historical char^r of the different writers who treat of the subject. I should wish them confined chiefly to the New Eng^d Colon^s. The History of Connecticut, I believe, has only been written by M^r Peters, who is a mere mountebank & buffoon. Is there no other account but this miserable one of that flourishing Colony,

with the few notes contained in Mr. Morse's valuable Geography? Has Rhode Island no other historian but my whimsical countryman Douglas? I should be much gratified by receiving a brief sketch of his life & character; it must be curious and amusing, if not instructive also. Where is the void to be supplied between the time in which Mr. Hutchinson became *partial*, or at least *silent*, on some facts, and the important peace of 1763, concerning the affairs of Massachusetts Bay chiefly?

As the whole subject is nearly connected with the Indian history, I have resolved, at the request of some friends, to give a general view of their char^r and condition at the time of the conquest, tracing the successive effects which the progress of colonization has had on them to the present time. If you could furnish me with any documents or facts relative to this department, either from your own repository or that of the Historical Society, by a safe opportunity, I should consider it as a very great favour, and take that care of every such communication which you would do of the only copy of a very precious book.

Knowing your friendly disposition, and the great pleasure you take in doing kind offices, I have made this application with great confidence, and shall not fail to embrace every opportunity of testifying my inclination to repay you in kind, or in any other manner you may prescribe.

Our news from Europe are not of a late date. They inform us of the return of the Prussians to their own country, and of the *omnipotence* of the French revolutionists. Unhappily for themselves and their country, they do not seem to possess the ability & inclination to improve this calm to the important purpose of establishing a permanent & energetic government, adapted to the temper & habits of the people, so that it is impossible to predict what the next accounts from that quarter may contain.

We hear of your prosperity on the coast, & of your dangers on the Indian frontiers. But I hope the hatchet will soon be buried, to the solid satisfaction of both parties. This idea suggests a new enquiry. Has this Indian disturbance given birth to any account of the state & temper of the tribes previous to hostilities, or of their union & views at present? If it has, I should like much to possess it.

Has Mr. Hazard's Collection, recommended by Mr. Jefferson, made its appearance in the world, and how is it received? I should think it must be an useful book, a kind of Hakluyt and Purchas for America. I shall wait for your opinion of it before I think of commissioning it; and will take it very kind if you will be so good as to favour me with a long narrative of all your news.

Halifax furnishes nothing at present worth the describing. We are contented and happy under the direction of a well informed & well disposed Gov^r. This letter was intended to go by Mr. Sayre for New York in company with one to Mr. Clarke, but a variety of pressing business interrupted me before I had reached the bottom of the first page, and I now finish it, in order that it may be in readiness to embrace the first opportunity.

I have wished it had been my lot to have been admitted as a visitant into the chamber of the Historical Society on the night in which you read your discourse in celebration of the third centenary since y^e discovery of America. May I expect a copy of that discourse? It will be a gratification to all your friends here, as well as myself.

You will not doubt that other objects have engrossed me since I saw you last than the printing of sermons. None of mine deserve the expence of publication, and as to the one you mention with so much partiality, it is far from being so complete as I hope it will be hereafter.

Will you be so obliging as to remember me kindly to

all my Boston friends, and to believe that I am, rev^d and dear Sir, with all sincerity,

Yours most truly,

ANDREW BROWN.

HALIFAX, Jan^y 10th, 1793.

How is the fine little gentleman you promised to commend to my care? Were you to apply to Mr. Geyer, he could possibly forward a letter by way of New York, from which the opportunities of conveyance to this place are frequent. This goes with Mrs. Belcher's, in hope of being so conducted to you. I should thank you to let Mr. Clarke know.

JOHN THAYER TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

The Rev'd Dr Belknap, Boston.

REV^d SIR, — I have lately read your intresting [History?] of N. Hampshire, & your discourse on y^e discovery of America. Tho' you afford much useful information & show liberality in many of your remarks, yet wherever you mention y^e Roman Catholic Ch^b you totally disfigure her doctrines. What a pity y^t a man so well qualified as you are to instruct your countrymen shou'd endeavor to rivet y^e unjust prejudices in which we N. Englanders have all been educated! As I flatter myself y^t you are

* This letter is without date; and Mr. Belknap's indorsement is also without date. To the indorsement the late George Ticknor, who had good means of knowing, added that Mr. Thayer was "a connexion of Dr. Belknap." John Thayer was the fourth child of Cornelius and Sarah [Plaisted] Thayer, and was born in Boston, May 15, 1758. He studied for the ministry, and was for a time settled in Boston. In 1781 he went to Europe, and subsequently spent some time in travel and study. While abroad, in May, 1783, he joined the Catholic Church, and was ordained to the priesthood. Returning to Boston in 1790, he took charge of the Roman Catholic society which met in the meeting-house in School Street formerly owned by the French Protestants. In 1799 he was sent to Kentucky, where he remained until 1803, when he went to England. The last years of his life were spent in Limerick, Ireland, and he died there, Feb. 5, 1815. He was a zealous and active controversialist, and printed several pamphlets. (See Memorial of the Thayer Name, pp. 181, 182; Memorial History of Boston, vol. iii. p. 515; Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography.) — EDS.

open to conviction, I shall take y^e liberty to remark on a few passages of your books, & shall presume to hope y^t in a future edition, & in y^e other writings which you propose to publish, you will avoid y^e same errors. I take no very particular notice of y^e terms *Popish*, *Romish*, *Papist*, &c., which so frequently occur; tho', as they always express contempt & are taken in a bad sense, a liberal Protestant ought to avoid them, and substitute in their place *Catholic* or *Roman Catholic*, by which we designate those of our religion. We always call our dissenting brethren by y^e names which themselves adopt. But a matter of more serious consequence, Sir, is your putting among y^e Catholic tenets, y^t "to break faith with heretics is no sin."* This assertion you attempt to prove by y^e conduct of y^e missionary Thury. But y^t gentleman, perhaps, had many reasons for dissuading y^e sachems from fulfilling their treaty with our forefathers, which we shou'd see to be founded in justice had we y^e knowledge of all y^e circumstances of y^t affair. Granting, however, y^t he acted an unjust & wicked part, it by no means follows y^t according to y^e Catholic religion it is no sin to break faith with heretics. Catholic priests are often bad men, & may therefore act contrary to y^e principles which they profess. You likewise relate y^e history of y^e missionary Sebastian Rallé† in a manner y^t tends to confirm your readers in y^e same unjust prevention agst y^e Catholic religion. Yet, according to your own account, y^e N. Englanders did not fulfill one very express condition of their charter, viz. to attempt y^e conversion of y^e Indians; did not erect public truck-houses for their convenience, but suffer'd them to be cheated by private traders; were always inroaching on their hunting grounds, &c.; while y^e French "taught them to pray to God"; sent them presents; abstain'd from seizing on their lands, &c. The

* History of N. Hamp., Vol. i. p. 268. — Note by Mr. Thayer.

† Vol. 2, p. 46, &c. — *Ibid.*

good priest Rallé, at y^e expence of every comfort & advantage in y^s life, administer'd consolation to those poor, helpless savages, & undertook to see them righted: therefore, y^e Catholics hold y^t no faith is to be kept with heretics! Instead of breach of faith, I see justice, humanity, & heroic generosity in such behaviour. It is so far from being a part of our belief y^t "it is no sin to break faith with heretics," y^t in all Catholic countries such a breach of faith is as severely punish'd as if it were with Catholics. This imputation is as antient as y^e *pretended* reformation of England, & was invented to furnish a plea for persecuting Catholics as enemies to y^e state, because it was found easier to blacken them than to refute their arguments. This charge has been constantly renew'd by our adversaries, tho' they have been always challeng'd to produce their proofs. Not only y^e antient, but all y^e modern writers of our communion, have positively declar'd y^s abominable position to be no article of their creed. The famous Father O'Leary has distinguish'd himself on y^s head in his dispute with Mr John Westly.* The whole body of English & Irish Catholics have lately express'd their detestation of y^s falsely imputed tenet. The English, in their petition presented to y^e House of Commons, "reject, reprobate, & abhor y^e doctrine y^t *faith is not to be kept with heretics*, as contrary to religion, morality, & common honesty. They hold & solemnly declare y^t no breach of faith with, or injury to, or hostility agst any person whomsoever, can ever be justified under pretence y^t such person is a heretic or an infidel." The Irish Catholics, in their declaration made by their general committee, say: "We hold it as an unchristian & impious principle, y^t *no faith is to be kept with heretics*. This doctrine we detest & reprobate, not only as contrary to our religion, but as destructive of

* This or any other Catholic book I am willing to lend you, if you wish for information. — *Note by Mr. Thayer.*

morality, of society, & even of common honesty, & it is our firm belief y^t an oath made to any person not of y^e Catholic religion is equally binding as if it were made to any Catholic whatsoever." These pieces, Sir, have both appear'd in our public papers. If you still insist y^t y^s point belongs to our belief, I beg you to have y^e goodness to show it me in our creeds, or in our General Councils, where we always expect to find the dogmas of our religion. For my part I cannot discover y^s article in any of our creeds, from y^t which is call'd y^e Apostles' down to y^t more particular one y^t was publish'd by Pope Pius y^e 4th, nor can I trace it in any decree of our General Councils, from y^t which was held at Jerusalem a few years after y^e ascension of our Lord down to y^t which was assembled in y^e city of Trent.

I pass on to your other work. In y^e first place, it appears somewhat singular y^t in a discourse expressly commemorative of y^e advantages of y^e discovery of America, for which y^e world is wholly indebted to Catholics, & in some degree to a Catholic priest,* you shou'd take occasion to blacken y^e religion of y^e hero & heroine whom you undertake to panegyryze. You say (p. 31), "y^t y^e antient imperfect system of geography became a part of y^e creed of y^e Roman Ch^h, & was defended by y^e court of inquisition." † This assertion seems rather hasty; for we do not read y^t either Isabella, Perez, Columbus, or y^e physician Paul were ever accus'd, or even suspected, of heresy, tho' they did all they cou'd to destroy y^t system. Now, considering y^e extreme jealousy our Ch^h has always shown in preserving y^e sacred depositum of y^e faith, those persons wou'd certainly have been arraign'd & punish'd if y^t old system were then a part of y^e Catholic creed. In y^t case Paul of Florence wou'd never have been suffer'd

* Prel. Discourse, p. 22. — *Note by Mr. Thayer.*

† Upon enquiry you will perhaps find y^t y^e establishment of ye inquisition was posterior to, or at most coeval with, y^e discovery of America. — *Ibid.*

to declare (as he does) “y^t y^e voyage round y^e globe was honourable & glorious among all Christians.” I do not recollect anything in y^e history of our Ch^h which can afford any reasonable pretext for y^s accusation. Pray, Sir, when did y^e “*infallible chair*” decide upon geographical questions? It wou’d not be fair to repeat y^e history of Galileo or of Virgilius, since y^e Ch^h gave no judgement in either case. The alarm which those men occasion’d in their time was *wholly* on account of y^e Redeemer’s honour. Virgilius advanc’d “y^t there is another world & other men under y^e earth, or another sun & moon” (*quod alius mundus & alii homines sub terrâ sint, seu alius sol & luna*). Pope Zachary order’d Virgilius to come to Rome y^t his doctrine might be examin’d; but he pronounc’d no sentence. It was not y^e idea of y^e antipodes, or of y^e spherical figure of y^e earth, y^t startled y^e good pontiff, but y^e opinion y^t there was on earth another race of men, not descended from Adam nor redeem’d by y^e blood of Christ. It is nothing to our purpose whether y^e Pope was misinform’d or not. But supposing y^t a condemnation *really* took place, & y^t (if you please) in support of y^e old, imperfect system of geography, or of y^e non-rotundity of y^e earth, yet be assur’d, Sir, y^t Catholics themselves wou’d not respect it, because they consider y^e Popes’ decrees as binding *only* when they concern some point of religion, & when they are receiv’d by ye Universal Ch^h. I more readily make allowance for y^e mistakes you committed in y^e first volume of your History of N. Hampshire, because it appear’d in 1780; but y^t after so many opportunities of better information, in y^e year 1792, you shou’d denominate y^e Catholic religion “idolatry,” & shou’d doubt whether our “Indian converts have not chang’d their original superstitions for others,” * does not look very candid. You here insinuate y^t we are not even Christians, & y^t y^s is your idea, I conclude from your saying (p. 54) y^t

* Discourse, p. 51, 52.— Note by Mr. Thayer.

“y^e Moravians seem to have an art of attaching savage nations to their faith *beyond any other denomination of Christians.*” Which no man can pronounce with truth who admits our right to y^t honourable appellation, & who knows anything of y^e wonders which our missionaries have perform’d, & still perform, among y^e Indian tribes. This exclusion of us from y^e Christian name appears a little contrary to y^e prevailing sentiments of y^s land, where for salvation you require *at most* a belief of what are call’d y^e fundamentals of religion. Now which of these essential points do we deny? Is it y^e doctrine of three divine persons in one God? Is it y^e doctrine of y^e incarnation, of y^e redemption, of original sin, of y^e general resurrection & judgement, of y^e absolute eternity of hell-torments, of y^e necessity of grace for beginning & ending every good work, of y^e free agency of y^e human will, &c.? You know, or might know, Sir, y^t our Ch^h firmly believes & tenaciously maintains all these capital articles of divine revelation, & as to y^e Eucharist, y^e s^{ts} & their images, we have so frequently explain’d ourselves on those heads y^t few, except y^e most ignorant among you, accuse us of idolatry on y^t account. This *superstition & idolatry*, which you impute to our Indian converts, is y^e very same which all Christian nations once profess’d. It was y^s w^{hh} form’d y^e greatest heroes of y^e kingdom from w^{hh} we derive our origin: an Alfred y^e Great, a Sir Thomas Moore, &c. It was under its influence y^t princes, princesses, & other personages learn’d to practice y^e virtues of y^e Gospel, such as humility, alms-deeds, contempt of y^e world, &c.; y^t y^e Universities of Cambridge, Oxford, & many others, were founded. I cou’d run thro’ all y^e different ages, from y^e Apostles down to y^e present day, & show y^t nc one people ever receiv’d y^e Gospel but from preachers commission’d by y^e Popes. I cou’d defy you to point out a single heathen nation y^t ever receiv’d its Christianity from any society separated from our Ch^h. She *alone*

inspires her ministers with a pure & generous zeal for extending y^e reign of J. Christ. It wou'd be worth your while to enquire why y^e sects* do not make y^e same exertions in y^e cause of their Redeemer, & why his blessing has not hitherto crown'd y^e feeble efforts which they have made. Our poor *idolatrous, superstitious* Indians, according to y^e testimony of y^e most competent judges, Protestant as well as Catholic, show forth y^e Christian virtues in a much greater degree than cou'd be expected from people of their way of life. They even put to shame civiliz'd Christians of all denominations. They have a spirit of humility, of prayer, of self-denial, of chastity, of charity, &c.† Cou'd you reasonably expect to make them better, were you yourselves to be their teachers? But y^s is not likely to be y^e case. For, as you very wisely remark, "you had better first agree among yourselves what y^e truths of y^e Gospel are," before you begin to preach among y^e savages (p. 52). If we are allow'd to form a conjecture concerning y^e present dissenters from our Ch^h by those of antient times, & by yourselves hitherto, y^s agreement will not speedily take place. It seems to me there is an increasing division of sentiment among you. Your present appearance of union entirely consists in an indifference about all points of faith, in a toleration of one another for mutual ease & peace, and in a fix'd hatred & contempt for y^e Roman Catholic Ch^h w^{hh} *alone* has J. Christ for founder. Be pleased, Sir, to excuse these few observations on your writings, w^{hh} I have made according to y^e duty of my office, in virtue of w^{hh} I am constituted a defender of y^e Catholic doctrines. I think y^t thro'out

* The reason of y^s unfruitfulness you will perhaps find in their being *sects*. "Ab arbore frange ramum fractus germinare non poterit. A fonte præcide rivum præcisus arescet." S. Cypr. De Unitate Ecclesiæ. — *Note by Mr. Thayer.*

† They show their charity by praying most cordially for y^e conversion of their *erring brethren*. This is y^e tender name they give to all Protestants, as I am inform'd by a dissenting minister who resided near them for many years. He express'd to me how much y^s surpris'd him, because he expected y^t they had imbib'd from their instructors a spirit of persecution & hatred agst those who are out of our Church. — *Ibid.*

y^e whole I have treated you with Christian moderation & politeness. At least, I have not intentionally fail'd in either. I have y^e honour, rev'd Sir, to subscribe myself

Your very humble servant,

JOHN THAYER, *Catholic Missionary.*

No. 82 Newbury Street, Boston. [1793.*]

ANDREW BROWN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Reverend Dr. Jeremy Belknap, one of the Ministers of Boston, N. E.

HALIFAX, June 14th, 1793.

MY GOOD MR. BELKNAP, — I have not had so much reason to regret that ignorance in which I live concerning the arrivals and departures of our port as on two late occasions, when an opportunity occurred for Boston, and left my debt unpaid, unacknowledged, which looks as like ingratitude as insolvency; at least I much fear that it may have all that appearance at the distance at which we are removed from each other. But I do assure you that I am not benumbed, and that my gratitude is on the present occasion equally fervent and sincere.

Soon after my settlement here, which after a twelve-month's rambling and irregularity, with the inattention which they had produced, was no easy matter, I betook

* Among the miscellaneous memoranda preserved by Dr. Belknap is the following, which probably refers to the above letter: "Mr B. presents his compts. to the Rev^d Mr Thayer, & acknowledges the receipt of a letter from him which he has put into his file entitled *Consideranda*. July 27, 1793." Under date of Nov. 13, 1793, Mr. Hazard wrote to Mr. Belknap: "So your brother Thayer has attacked you. I hope this will not occasion a revival of the dispute about Protestants and Papists." On the 20th of November, Mr. Belknap wrote in reply: "As to John Thayer, I do not intend to write a word against him or any thing that he has said. If the Roman Catholics are *mending* their principles and practice, I wish them success. The time may come when the Church of Rome may be as pure as it was in the Apostles' days. I am glad to find that they are ashamed to own some things which in the days of their insolence they boasted in." (See 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. pp. 342, 344, 345.) Besides writing this letter, which is in a very close and crabbed hand, Mr. Thayer had probably made some public strictures on Mr. Belknap's writings. He had already been engaged in a controversy with the Rev. George Leslie, minister of the church in Washington, N. H., and had delivered a series of controversial discourses in his chapel in School Street. — Eds.

myself to study and to writing. From necessity and choice I applied first to professional labour, and have added to the number of my sermons. After a good deal of work on them, I am just beginning to set vigorously about my historical researches. For so it happens, that what with one thing and another time passes away in America at a strange rate, and leaves, even to the industrious, few traces of its flight. The spring ships, bringing with them a great variety of new publications, interrupted for a season the course of my reading. No season was ever more interesting or teemed with stranger events; and such is the ebullition of mind, and the variety of speculation which it has produced, that to look into the various productions of the day is occupation sufficient for any reader. The misfortune is, too, that what at home costs considerable labour to be sure in the perusal, but labour which is easy as it refers to the topic of daily discussion, comes here in a large bundle, and requires great application to overtake and to finish it, tho' glancing is the word for such perusal.

Our country in the last year was not wholly exempt from danger, insurrection, and innovation. The mechanics and manufacturers were chiefly infected, the peasantry being less debauched & more heartily attached to the constitution which they had heard their fathers praise, & in behalf of which they professed their readiness to spill their blood. Scotland in particular was in imminent hazard of setting out in quest of new constitutions. The friends of order and happiness were alarmed, and rallied in behalf of government. Various able and animated compositions were produced to prove the happiness of mixed monarchy and the British constitution, but none in point of fact, vigour, & argument to be compared with a pamphlet entitled "The Patriot," published by Dr. Hardy, one of the ministers of Ed^r, and Professor of Church History in the University. There are two or three of them

here, and when the impatience of curiosity is a little gratified, I shall have much pleasure in sending you one of them, as indeed I expected to have had already; but my pamphlets are aboard one of the London ships not yet arrived. In consequence of these spirited exertions on the part of the writers of the country, the actors were inspired, and in every county the gentlemen resolved, if necessary, to meet force by force, and to fall in behalf of government on the last field of their country. They had seen enough, they said, of the tendency of passive loyalty in the case of the American Refugees, & more recently & more impressively in the case of the French Emigrants; and they wisely determined to let their deeds speak. Meanwhile the friends of the people, as they called themselves, who sounded the trumpet of discontent and rebellion, were arrested by the magistrate and brought to trial for their seditious writings and practices. Before this vigorous spirit they fell abashed and confounded; their views and their politics were defeated; and they have now become odious to those very persons who idolized them before. The rights of man & the friends of the people are terms of reproach in Scotland.

The numerous failures of respectable companies in trade & in banking concerns seem alarming at this distance in a political view. We have yet sustained no national losses in consequence of the war to have occasioned them; and it is hardly to be supposed that the mere stagnation of trade which that event has produced could have effected it, if no design of a mischievous nature did not aggravate its effects. If it has originated in designs hostile to government, the evil is more serious in its spring, as well as more malignant, than in the temporary distemper which it can produce in its course. In all other respects, our affairs, I think, seem to wear a very flourishing aspect, fully as much so as an enlightened & humane patriot, who while he loves his

country loves all human kind likewise, would venture to wish them.

Poor France! how much to be pitied! Little more seems to remain to the French but the power of injuring themselves. The combination against them is, one would suppose, sufficient to occupy them at home, and to confine their operations to their own country, where, whichever side gains, France must be the loser. Not that I think much of the desertion of Dumouriez; with a little more information and a little more personal consequence, he is the Arnold of the cause. I dislike the treason and the traitor. If he had disapproved the cause after having been so far embarked in it, he ought to have kept himself unseen and inactive. This is my system about conversions. I am neither for minister nor general becoming minister in a different religion or general in a hostile cause, after having seen reason to desert their first post.

What events may occur, or what settlement may be made, time, the great composer, not to say killer, of strife, must determine. Your country enjoys the post of honour, and I trust your people will have the wisdom and the virtue to maintain it. Indeed, I think their prudence may be sufficient to induce them to observe most faithfully the ancient and established law of neutrality, as it will be their interest.

The singular events that have already happened in the last seven years have led many to view the times with a more enlarged mind, and to produce and to bring into credit opinions and guesses at future events which past ages have produced. We doubtless touch on important revolutions, and the signs of these make the sentiments of thoughtful men in former days interesting. I have been drawn to make this remark by perusing the work of a Mr. Fleming, minister of the Scots Church at London Wall, on the Revelation, a curious piece, of ascertained

authenticity, and for the time (1700) well written. The seals, phials, and trumpets are extremely well illustrated, and really seem to be accommodated and applied to events and times with admirable good sense. I never before had any great opinion of the interpreters of the Apocalypse, and joined with the general voice in judging Calvin wise for writing no commentary on that mysterious book. But if any of your shops have brought it, I recommend it to your perusal; and if they have not, would think it worth while the sending for. Might not you, my friend, get Burnet's work published by your son, with a Preface giving an account of the author by yourself. It is on the same subject, and I recollect being much struck with what I read of it at Dr. Thatcher's. He would, I dare say, be very glad to forward with all his interest such a design. You would easily authenticate it beyond the reach of infidelity. The name and family of the writer would make it valuable in England, where I suppose it is little known; and I should suppose it would be a good remittance by your booksellers to their London merchants.

I am called out, so must take my leave for a time.

Your letters and the parcels accompanying them gave me the greatest pleasure, and laid me under obligations of a particular nature, which I shall not soon forget. I recollect, when I was first on the move to Halifax, Dr. Robertson, who had directed me in the choice of my little library, desired me to get a bookseller to pack it; adding, I have always done so, for many valuable volumes have come to me many hundred miles, and there is nothing so necessary as to be attentive to such treasure, which they who have the taste to chuse have also the taste to value. You expressively mark the regard of such persons for their possessions by calling them the apple of their eye, a tender part, and which it is the height of cruelty to injure. You may, therefore, be assured that I hold your kindness on this occasion very high; that the books

entrusted to me shall be well kept during their stay here, and faithfully sent back by a trusty conveyance.

I thank you sincerely for the kind presents you made to me, and hope you have marked me down for the Collections of the Historical Society, in continuation. You shall be duly paid, and may send me the numbers as opportunities occur. I shall look with impatience for those succeeding Jan^r, when I presume the first was published.

I was greatly pleased with your strictures on writers, and should take it as a new obligation if you would let me have a sketch of the life & a character of the writings of Gov^r Hutchinson & my countryman Douglas. Considering the times in which he lived, & the opinions & the manners of Boston in his day, he must have been an oddity in every thing; & that being the case, I should suppose that many anecdotes remain concerning him. I should like to hear more of his person, his cane, his conversation, and his pursuits. He seems to have written on various subjects, and to have infused into all his controversies, which seem to have delighted him, an acrimony of spirit, and a provoking indication of superiority.

Your account of Mr. Hazard's performance pleased me greatly. Pray, does it abound in Indian remains & antiquities, as well as in Colonial memorabilia? for if it does, I must possess it.

The people of Europe are now engrossed in the objects & news of the day. All other concerns are absorbed in those of France, government, politics, & the turns of war. The magnitude of the subjects has produced much serious discussion, and they are so interesting that we can never be too well acquainted with them. Is it not by the spur of the occasion, & by fits & snatches which call forth all our attention, that we are impelled to master many subjects that we should only glance, and then abandon forever without such calls, strong calls? We are indolent animals by nature, & old Sam. Johnson used to say

that hunger was the only motive powerful enough to compel a man to write. I do not, however, credit this dogma of the literary giant, and firmly believe that I could produce in you a complete exception to his rule. May I not hope that you have not yet become weary? Be assured of it, my dear Sir, that, tho' your writings have been published an age too soon to get you their literary reward, they will be highly prized when your people improve in ability, and that they will begrudge its Belknap to the generation which had not the wherewithall to pay his price. With what regret will some future Gibbon take leave of his favourite guide?

In the continuance of your kind correspondence I promise myself much information & great comfort. May I not even venture to hope that it will not be quite confined to debtor & creditor, but conducted on a more liberal scale than that of the merch^t who expects a return for every cargo before he entrusts his correspondent with another? Let each of us embrace the opportunities as they occur; and tho' it should happen that there may be a debit side on one part or other, let us trust that all will be balanced at last.

I have wished for some time past to be able to discover what is the amount of the whole of the taxation of the United States; and should like to know what the expence of government is, separately & combined; that is to say, what the expence of the Union & of each separate State is, & how that expence is defrayed, and what becomes of the surplus. Could you find time either to tell me this yourself, or to direct me where I am to learn it, I should be much obliged to you.

I have seen a book on your western country, said to be published by one Imlay, a capt. in the army, & a commissioner for laying out that part of your territories. I hope it is a forgery; for I seldom have seen so much impudence, ignorance, & inanity united. I have always

given a better idea of the genius of America than this book exhibits, and should dislike being deceived, tho' every country no doubt has its blockheads.

Is there any news of Barton's work on the Arts, &c. of the Indians? I did not conceive at Philadelphia the highest opinion either of his genius or the fidelity and force of his observations, tho' Barton, like Rush, was bred at Edinb^r.

When you find another opportunity, pray be so kind as to send me all your news, both public & domestic. Make my Scotchwoman's best compliments, she says "most friendly regards," acceptable to Mrs. Belknap. We have seen & admired together in the possession of the friendly & sensible Miss Kent her description of the employments of the country min^{rs} wife.* We love the writer and the work; and most cordially wish the family happy now in what is counted the more elevated station of a metropolitan minister. Remember me kindly to the young ladies, not forgetting Mr. Andrew, and be assured that I ever am, my dear Sir,

Your sincere friend,

ANDREW BROWN.

P. S. I owe a letter to our good friends, Mess^{rs} Clarke & Elliot. Mr. Belcher intends to send a schooner in a week. I mean then to answer my correspondents, & to send you an occasional Sermon addressed to Sailors.

ANDREW BROWN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Reverend Dr. Belknap, one of the Ministers of Boston. With a paper parcel.

HALIFAX, June 25th, 1793.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — About a week ago I wrote you two letters; one in the character of Mr. Belknap, my

* See note, *ante*, pp. 228, 229. — Eds.

kind friend and benefactor; the other in your capacity of Corresponding Secretary of the Historical Society. I trust you have received both, and that they have been fortunate enough to convince you of my gratitude & regard.

As nothing has occurred since I wrote last, it is not in my power to trouble you with a great deal of matter at present, were I not to transcribe it from books I have read or scraps I have written, both of which would be equally unpleasant & unprofitable.

You expressed in one of yours a wish to know and to ask many things concerning Scotland. If I had your queries now before me, they would probably enable me to fill up my sheet, and say farewel with some appearance of consequence. But as I cannot guess what the main subject of your curiosity is, and as the multiplicity of remarks on detached subjects would be endless, I reserve the matter entire to supply the barrenness of some future epistle.

It is with great pleasure that I introduce to your notice and to your active beneficence our excellent Chief Justice. He is deservedly the admiration, I might have said the idol, of the Province, and there are not many in it who would not go equal lengths with myself to oblige & gratify him. Mr. Blowers in particular would be highly pleased to find him assisted in his researches by Dr. Belknap. He has himself a very high opinion of your character; has purchased and perused all your works; and expresses in warm terms his opinion of the purity, the simplicity, & beauty of your historical compositions. The friend for whom he has so long and so anxiously interested himself stands high in the literary world; and the Chief Justice would begrudge no reasonable expence to add to his collection. His notes subjoined to the extracts from his friend's letters explain what he wishes to procure; and if you can purchase the articles for him,

either in your town or by your correspondents in New York, you would lay us all under much obligation. I need say no more ; to you I fear I have already said too much, who need only a hint to do kind services to your friends. However, the excess of my anxiety will at least bear witness to the warmth with which I enter into the wishes of my friend.*

A word for myself. From what I have already experienced of your assistance, I am encouraged to hope for more. These Indians, I fear, will plague me ; following their history is like following their tracks. They are hid in a wilderness in both respects ; and the field is so wide that there is great danger of missing the main body. It is my wish to give a succinct detail of the general influence of the Colonies on their nations from the first settlement, and to conclude with a correct view of their numbers & condition at the present time. I have applied to all the separate histories of the old Colonies. But the facts are so widely scattered, and the notices so intermixed with other matter, that it is difficult to extract them. Can you point me to any general guide, or suggest any mode of combining the separate articles into

* Among the Belknap Papers is a letter from T. A. Strange, (at that time Chief Justice of Nova Scotia,) dated "Halifax, 24 June, 1793," and addressed to Rev. Dr. Brown, in which he says: "I have been at the trouble of transcribing the foregoing extracts from my friend's letters, respecting the objects of his curiosity, from the anxiety I have to gratify him, and a desire of impressing you with a sense of it, who have kindly undertaken to interest your valuable correspondent, Dr Belknap, in his service upon the occasion. I am not without reason to think that Dr Belknap is already apprised of the commission, and that with that comity which I understand to be a part of his character he has expressed his readiness to do what he shall be able in the execution of it on my account, if he could be furnished with a more specific description of what it is that is wanted than what I have heretofore transmitted him. The spring cannot rise beyond its source. I know nothing of these matters myself; I have, therefore, now given the commission as it has been given to me. I know that good specimens of various *land-snails* are particularly acceptable to my friend. '*Any marine shells of your Province*' (which will apply equally to any other Province) seems to be a description at once accurate and comprehensive. If Dr Belknap can help me to serve this gentleman, he will be laying me under an obligation which you will enable me to discharge, as far as it shall involve expence, for which I have an express and free latitude given me. You can also best convey to Dr Belknap the respect you know I have for him, which I beg you to take this occasion of doing." The "objects of his curiosity" desired by Judge Strange's friend were muscle shells and scallop shells. — Eds.

one body? Give me your helping hand so far as your other avocations will permit.

There is a beautiful poem on the discovery and future state of America in Hakluyt, written by Budæus, who afterwards perished in Humphrey Gilbert's expedition to Newfoundland. The Latinity I thought good. Might not you insert it in your Historical Collection, and request a translation in poetry?

Making you the depositary of my gratitude, I have sent to your care a few copies of a Sermon prepared at sea, which I hope will not be inconvenient for you to give to the persons whose names they bear. I have also taken this opportunity to add, not from an idea of their value, for they possess none, but as a proof of my wish to testify the sense I have of your kindness, a few papers which may amuse an indolent hour, when the mind is unbent and averse to employment.

I must now conclude with offering my own & my wife's kind regards to you, Mrs. Belknap, & your good family, and with assuring you that I am, my dear friend, with much esteem,

Yours most faithfully,

ANDREW BROWN.

The vessel which brings this returns in a few days. I shall expect a letter and all your news. Make my best compliments to all friends. You will hear from Mr. Geyer when the brig sets out.

MATHEW CAREY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev. Mr. Belknap, Boston.

SIR,—Desirous as I am to avail myself of your abilities in the compilation of the acc^t of the New England States & those of New Jersey & New York, I wish you

to consider my proposition maturely before I engage with any other writer. I will pay three dollars for every page *in print*, and remit the money as fast as you advance in the work. I shall not want any part for the press before next January or February.

I wish an answer within a week after your receipt of this, w^h will oblige

Your ob^t h^{ble} serv^t,

MATHEW CAREY.

PHILAD., July 18, 1793.

Rev. Mr Belknap.

MATHEW CAREY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev. Jeremiah Belknap, Boston. Post paid 20.

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 5, 1793.

SIR,—Your two favors of the 25th and 29th ultimo lie before.

I regret that it is out of your power to undertake writing the geography of the northern part of the United States, as I believe there are few men more capable of it. However, I would propose to you to undertake Massachusetts, respecting which you say you have made some collections. Vermont and New Hampshire are engaged. And y^r friend mentioned in your letter of the 29th would probably be able before next January to write an acc^t of Rhode Island & Connecticut. New York & New Jersey I shall have written in their respective States. The compensation shall be three dollars per page of print, as held out in my last letter.

I beg you would immediately consult your fr^d, & communicate his & your determination by the next or succeeding post. I am, Sir, yo^{rs}, &c.

M. CAREY.

BENJAMIN S. BARTON TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

PHILADELPHIA, August 28th, 1793.

REV^d SIR,—I have received your polite letter, together with a copy of Gookin's *Historical Collections*. I thank you for your kind attention to me. I have read enough of the book to be convinced that it will be of use to me, and to find that I have been wrong in what I have said on the subject of the Natics and Nahanties. Yet I do suppose that these two people do, or did, speak dialects of the same language. Captain Hendricks, of the Mohegans, settled at Oneida, informed me that the Nahanties speak a dialect of the language of his nation. Of the Natics he knew nothing; but it is easy to discover, by consulting Mr Eliot's Bible, that this last-mentioned people must have been of the Mohegan stock.

At this time, when oppressed by a multiplicity of business, I have not leisure to answer as I could wish your objection to my paper on the honey-bee. Indeed, I have not at present an opportunity of examining your paper on the subject; so that the remark which you refer to in p. 120 & 121 I must leave unnoticed until some future period. I know we are both desirous of learning the truth; and it is not without our reach. I only received your letter yesterday, and I have hardly time to answer it. Mr Morse will deliver this into your hands.

The present state of my work on the subject of the *Americans*, you may know something about from Mr Morse. I have still some months of time to receive and to examine facts and circumstances relative to my principal objects. Whatever you may think proper to com-

* Benjamin S. Barton, M. D., was born in Lancaster, Penn., Feb. 10, 1766, and became a distinguished physician in Philadelphia, where he died Dec. 19, 1815. Besides numerous medical publications, he was the author of "New Views on the Origin of the Tribes of America," a work on Botany, "A Eulogy on Dr. Priestley," and other minor writings. — EDS.

municate to me, I shall consider it as a pleasing duty to acknowledge in a public manner.

I have much pleasure in learning that you proceed with your scheme of an *American Biography*. Our country, though young, is not poor of materials for you.

It is my anxious wish that our acquaintance should increase. Whilst at a distance, an occasional letter from you may remind me that in the pursuits of science I have long been ambitious of treading in the path in which you walk with honour to yourself and with benefit to your country and to science. Should you visit our city, I hope you will let me have the pleasure of seeing you.

I am, rev^d Sir, with great esteem, your friend and very humble servant,

B. S. BARTON.

P. S. Please to make my affectionate compliments to Dr Cutler.

ANDREW BROWN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Reverend Dr. Belknap, one of the Ministers of Boston.

HALIFAX, Oct^r 28th, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR, — Since I had the pleasure of writing you, many things have happened which confined my attention to domestic duties, and prevented my paying that attention to my friends which it is always my inclination to do.

After some weeks sickness, our little daughter was called away, and left us both in sorrow. You can easily imagine what effect a first stroke of that kind must have had on the heart of a mother, and, irony as man's nature is, it naturally melts at the sufferings of his own flesh. To relieve the scene and procure the enlivening influence of variety, we indulged ourselves in an excursion to the country, and, meeting with a bad day on our return, my eyes, which have been very weakly all summer, caught a

new inflammation, which confined me to *dark idleness* for three tedious weeks. By care and attention, however, I have got them again into a tolerable state, and am beginning to resume, with fresh ardour, the business of life. Among the first objects of my attention your proposals for the Biography present themselves, and I need not assure you, I hope, that nothing in my power shall be wanting to extend their circulation here.

The speculations concerning the destination of Admiral Cambe's fleet occupied our thoughts at times, and induced us to prepare for their reception if they should favour us with a visit. They wisely, I suppose, declined that honour. I dare say it would have been another D'Anville expedition.

The news from Europe are not yet decisive as to the term of war or the probability of peace. The political hemisphere is still cloudy, and there is no interpreting by any past experience the signs of the present times.

The autumn is far advanced, the mornings and evenings are cold, and, protected by our faithful allies, the northwest winds, we are preparing for our winter. We have no news. In the little range of provincial life, where the business of every day is like that of the past, adventures or accidents only call forth attention, and the fewer of these the better.

We see in your papers a considerable spirit of speculation, and are pleased with it, as it seems to be in favour of order, government, and strict neutrality. Surely, Genet is an arrant bungler. Where was he bred? what profession did he follow? for it is not possible that such a shallow changeling could have been disciplined in the old French diplomatic school. I have formed these opinions from the indiscreet manner in which he is charged to have expressed himself towards your President, a man equally respectable in the tranquillity of the cabinet as in the tempestuous season of war.

What is it that has taken possession of the Indians? To think of reclaiming lands already granted is the most visionary idea that ever entered the head of a red man. Poor creatures! it will not be in their power to retain what they have; but the spirit of wisdom ought to be contented with getting the best security for the portion of the wilderness that remains; and it seems much for the interest of the Union to grant such security in order to keep their settlements compact, and their people dependent on each other. Let me have, agreeably to promise, all the light on that subject your situation can procure.

So the demise of John Hancock is at last announced; and might it not have been added, that he fell a sacrifice to the independence of his country? His campaigns at Congress and at the *table* must have made him prematurely old. But you have put it beyond the power of malice to speak at his grave of the ingratitude of republics. He enjoyed the honours he had merited to the last, and something longer, I should suppose, than they sat easy on him. I dare say there will be both panegyrics & funeral orations on the occasion. Let me have the best of them, & your own as the first.

Are there any new books from your press this season, or any old ones, I mean old in promise to the public, that have made their appearance? I have not lately seen any advertised, and am inclined to suppose that the times are not favourable for literary productions. Philadelphia has most unhappily been otherwise engaged; and I fear will not soon resume with wonted vigour the various business of life. Where in this season of calamity & terror do the country people store their produce, or from what port will it be shipped? I should suppose it cannot be from Philadelphia; & the stopping of this communication between the head & members must be highly prejudicial to the whole. I trust most sincerely that this

desolating distemper will be confined to that metropolis ; it would be dreadful were it to spread.*

I wish you could find an opportunity of sending me Gov^r Winthrop's Journal, as published by the Historical Society. I have a demand also for another set of the Soc. monthly papers. Let me have them and the numbers of my own, and a note of the whole, that I may clear my debt in shillings, and let that of friendship run on till some happier day, when, may be, some occasion may occur to shew that there also I am at least not a fraudulent bankrupt.

Could I borrow of your Soc. Neal's History & Jefferson's Virginia? They should be carefully perused & returned.

Mr. Blowers has just left me. In the rage of an influenza, which is at present general, the family is well, and sends most friendly regards to Mrs. Belknap & yourself. Mrs. Brown, who is again in tolerable spirits unites with me in all kind good wishes as abovesaid. She has seen the N. England minister's wife described in rhyme, and would be glad to see the writer.

Make my compliments to all friends, & believe me, my dear Sir, with truth & sincerity,

Yours most faithfully,

ANDREW BROWN.

If it would either be grateful or relieving to you, I should be pleased to give you the biography of Cotton Mather, with a critique on his genius and writings. But you must supply me plentifully with family and personal anecdotes, and all the dates & facts of importance. The life is one I like.

I can as yet say very little of our Province return of population. I tried to get it myself, but could not succeed ; it not being complete. I fear it is still so.

* The yellow fever prevailed in Philadelphia in 1793; and 3,645 persons died of the disease. (See Holmes's American Annals, vol. ii. p. 395.) — Eds.

JOHN WENTWORTH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

HALIFAX, 7th November, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR, — Amidst the urgency of public business, exceedingly increased by paying & dismissing upwards of one thousand militia men, who have been called in as a reinforcement to this garrison, I embrace a few moments afforded me, by M^r Walter, to return my best thanks for your kind letter & the Hebrew Grammar, which I shall send to my son by the packet arrived to-day from N. York, on her way to England, which I shall dispatch in three days. I wish I could have reported equal success in my enquiries concerning the settlement of N^ofoundland. D^r Ogden, a man of letters resident there, writes he cannot yet obtain any satisfactory information on the subject, but thinks he has fallen upon a clue w^h will lead him to all the elucidation that ever will be ascertained, which he will diligently investigate, and communicate the result, as well as the process, to me. I tho't the latter might afford us the best means of appretiating the result, or possibly lead us to further enquiries. I will lose no time in transmitting them to you. The preparations for defence & the frequent alarms from N. York have so continually excited the apprehensions of our inhabitants in this town for three months past, that my every moment has been occupied. The alacrity & spirit of our militia has given me great pleasure, and their orderly behaviour, both on their march & while in town, has been equally honourable to themselves and flattering to me. We have not had one offence tried or complained of. Every division were armed on their arrival in town, and the next day assiduously apply'd themselves to military exercises, with so much zeal & diligence that their proficiency surprises everybody. One company marched 130 miles in 35 hours. Two other companys, hearing many

guns, ran thirteen miles in two hours, to come in time. Instead of drafting to complete the levies, many companys insisted upon their right to come, and the officers were obliged to draft those that were to remain at home and compose a second reinforcement when wanted. The Acadians are equally affected as the rest. Since my accession to the gov^t I have earnestly applyed myself to comfort and establish them by granting lands without fees, appointing magistrates among them, calling them to the grand jurys & town offices, enrolling them in the militia, and aiding their priests. They sent me 75 volunteers upon this occasion, under command of an English half-pay officer; on their arrival, I gave them the same arms and allowances as the rest. Their old captain told me they now first found themselves the same as Englishmen & were perfectly happy, and would be as faithful to the King and Province as any men in it. I confess recovering these poor people to their own happiness, and, as the old man said to me, that I had made them forget all the miserys their people had formerly suffered, gives me infinitely more comfort than any other thing since my adminⁿ. I know your benevolent heart will not only rejoice, but also congratulate me on this event.

At what time do you expect to publish your A. Biography? I wish it were possible for me to communicate some interesting incidents for several names that will naturally appear in such a work. I also much wish to give you some information that may be useful if you should publish a second edition of your History. We have all been ill of the influenza, but are getting better. I hope you & yours have escaped it.

I am very sincerely, my dear Sir, your affect^d friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

Reverend Jeremy Belknap.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO ISAAC BEERS.*

Mr Isaac Beers, Bookseller, New Haven.

BOSTON, Nov^r 15, 1793.

SIR, — Your favour of the 1st inst. is come to hand. Tho' I have no personal knowledge of you, yet there is no necessity of my inquiring your character. My friend, M^r David West, will put up among some books which he says he shall send you half a dozen sets of the Hist^y of N. H. The booksellers here have agreed to fix the price for the future at 30/ & I let them sell for me at 12½ p^r cent commission. You shall have them on the same terms, or if you send me "the money by the first opportunity," you may have them at 15 per cent discount. This is what M^r West says is reasonable. You will therefore either send me 25½ dollars, or sign and send the enclosed receipt.

D^r Stiles put into your hands some of my Century Discourses for sale, & when he was here about a month ago he said you had sold some. You will oblige me by inclosing the neat proceeds of what you have sold in your next.

A letter p^r packet, directed to the care of W^m Little at N^o 46 State Street, will always find its way to

Y^r very hble. serv^t,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

Should you wish for any more of the Hist^y of N. H., you may have them, either bound at y^e above price, or in quires at 6/ p^r volume.

* Printed from the original in the collection of the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain.

In his description of New Haven in 1784, Mr. Franklin B. Dexter says: "The Post-Office adjoined Isaac Beers's store; and this introduces us to what was, after the College, the intellectual centre (in a sense) of New Haven. The store was a part of the proprietor's house, which was also an inn, and he sold — besides books — general groceries, and the best of gin and brandy. Of books he was, I think, one of the largest direct importers in the United States; and very remarkable are the lists of his latest acquisitions, which he publishes now and then in the weekly newspapers, covering sometimes an entire page." (Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, vol. iv. p. 126.) — Eds.

I thank you for getting subscriptions for the Biography. Thomas & Andrews have the whole care of printing & vending that work.

Should you have any pamphlets in your shop which may afford me any biographical materials, I wish you would send them to me.

A Funeral Sermon on Gov^r Trumbull,—I forget by whom.

JOSEPH ALLEN, JR., TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

GLOUCESTER, 14th Jan^r, 1794.

DEAR SIR,—There are a number of gentlemen in this town desirous of forming a Social Library. Thinking you may have the plan of the Dover *one* by you, I take the freedom to request the loan of it for a few days. I do not apologize for the trouble I shall give you on this occasion, [being] sensible that it will afford you pleasure to do any think [thing] which [will] have a tendency to diffuse knowledge, or make the means of [acqu]iring it easy. Please to present my respects to M^{rs} Belknap [&] compliments to the young ladies.

Who am, with the sincerest esteem, your very hum. serv^t,

JOSEPH ALLEN, JUN^R.

Doctor Belknap.

* Joseph Allen, Jr., was born in Gloucester, Nov. 4, 1755, and graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1774. About that time his father removed to Dover, N. H., and the son lived for several years in New Hampshire. Subsequently he returned to Gloucester, and in 1796 became cashier of the Gloucester Bank, in which office he continued until 1829. He died, Oct. 8, 1831, unmarried. The father, Nathaniel Allen, married, first, Mary, daughter of Rev. Joshua Gee, of the Second Church, Boston, and, secondly, Sarah, daughter of Epes Sargent of Gloucester. By these two marriages he had twelve children; but the line is now extinct. (See Babson's History of Gloucester, pp. 56, 57.)—EDS.

JOSEPH ALLEN, JR., TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev.^d Jeremy Belknap, D. D., Boston. Favor'd by Cap.^t Isaac Elwell.

GLOUCESTER, 20th Febr, 1794.

DEAR SIR, — I rec^d your esteemed favor thro' Mr. Sargent, Jun^r, which should have been acknowleg'd long ere this with my sincerest thanks for the contents.

I wished to have returned the blank you sent me with some names to it; it would have been agreeable to me to have had a long list of subscribers, [bu]t all within my sphere of influence are beco[m]ing subscribers to our intended Social Library, [& c]ircumscribe their disbursements for books within the limits of that institution.* Our beginning is small, but has one fundamental article in the constitution which will imperceptibly increase our stock of books, that of a quarterly assessment of 3/ 4 share.

Your hints were very usefull; nor do I know of any one which is not wholly or part adopted. Our fine for keeping a book beyond the limited time of four weeks is larger than could be wished, say 3/ 4 week, but when found inconvenient may be altered. The article prohibiting a member lending a book was once expunged, but after much debate is restored. The society was never organized till last evening.

The bearer of this, treasurer of the society & a respectable & worthy merchant of this town, he has it in charge to get some printed labels to be pasted inside the books. I have recommended him to your son. He will shew you the sketch [&] take your advice thereon. A fortnight

* The Social Library formed in Gloucester at this time continued in existence until 1830, when it numbered nearly two thousand volumes, but "nearly the whole were destroyed by the great fire of that year." (See Babson's History of Gloucester, p. 476.) "Mr. Harris's catalogue" probably refers to the manuscript catalogue of the library of the Historical Society, a part of which is in the handwriting of Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, who was elected a member in 1792. The first printed Catalogue bears the date of 1796. — Eds.

from this date the trustees of the society are to meet for the purpose of forming a catalogue which will be within our present abilities to purchase. Mr Harris's catalogue will be a guide. We shall take the freedom to consult you in the purchase, as our small beginnings will be laid out to the best advantage, & we shall want the advice of some disinterested friend to inform us where we may fare best. My sister will never forget her early friends. She desires me to present love & respects in her behalf.

It is very seldom that I leave the town. Whenever I shall be in Boston again, I certainly shall do myself the pleasure to call on you. It was my intention before; want of time only prevented.

I thank M^{rs} Belknap & the young ladies for their remembrances, & am, with the sincerest wishes for your & their happiness,

Your friend & hum. serv^t,

JOSEPH ALLEN, JUN^r.

Rev^d Doctor Belknap.

DAVID RAMSAY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

Rev^d Dr Belknap, Boston.

CHARLESTON, March 13, 1794.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 17th of last September should have been answered sooner, but it came to Charleston when I was in our middle country, attending the Legislature. I am very glad you have undertaken the task of writing American Biography. I have subscribed for it, but you need not expect many subscribers here.

* David Ramsay, M. D., author of a "History of the American Revolution," was born in Lancaster County, Penn., April 2, 1749, graduated at Princeton College in 1765, and died in Charleston, S. C., May 8, 1815. He took an active part in public affairs, both during the Revolution and afterward; and his numerous writings enjoyed a contemporaneous popularity, but most of them are now forgotten. — Eds.

After the book is printed, a few copies would doubtless sell.

Mr. Laurens was really a great man, but, like other great men, had his singularities. Ins. I will mention to you. One was, that, though in the course of his life he engaged in two or three duels, he always avoided having anything but powder in his pistol, alledging that in these unhappy contests the survivor was the most to be pitied. He exposed his life rather than be thought a coward, but could not brook the idea of taking the life of a fellow citizen. In playing cards he always paid when he lost, but would never take what he won, alledging that he had no right to his friend's money because he was unfortunate. The singularity of his exit was long premeditated. In conversing on it, which had been familiar to him for thirty-five or forty years, he used to say he had a horror at the thought of being inclosed in cold ground.*

The anonymous History of Carolina to which you refer was written by Mr. Hewitt, a Scotch Presbyterian clergyman of this place.† He was a great Tory, & of course on matters relative to the Revolution he is not a safe guide. He had also strong national prejudices against the American character. In other matters, you may rely on his accounts. He is now living in London, connected with the reviewers. With great respect & regard, I am your most obed^t humble servant,

DAVID RAMSAY.

* Henry Laurens, President of the Continental Congress from Nov. 1, 1777, to Dec. 10, 1778, died in Charleston, S. C., Dec. 8, 1792. His last will contained a direction to his son in the following terms: "I solemnly enjoin it on my son, as an indispensable duty, that as soon as he conveniently can after my decease he cause my body to be wrapped in twelve yards of tow cloth and burned until it be entirely consumed, and then, collecting my bones, deposit them wherever he may think proper." — Eds.

† The reference is to "An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia. In two Volumes." It was published anonymously in London in 1779, and is in the list handed in by Rev. John Eliot at the second meeting of the Historical Society. — Eds.

ANDREW BROWN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Reverend Dr. Jeremy Belknap, one of the Ministers of Boston.

HALIFAX, May 30th, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am indeed deep in debt; and tho' learned men, as you justly observe, can never be at war, yet you may perhaps suppose that something has occurred to make me unkind to my friends in Boston. I can assure you, however, that this is not the case. While I love my country with an honest zeal, and feel my own prosperity involved in its interests, I can at the same time love the friend in an alien land, and take a tender concern in all his affairs. You may be assured that in your pursuits & prosperity, in particular, I take a brother's part, and shall contribute all that lies in my power to promote them. But why the delay of a year to the second volume of the Biography? what new engagements have come in the way? are they carnal or spiritual, respecting mind or matter? If the first volume has had the success I should suppose it has, the second will have still greater, as it will relate to men of much consequence in their place and day, & far less known to general readers than some of the personages in your preliminary class. I regret you did not favour me with a catalogue of your worthies, and the order of their appearance, as I might possibly have been able to furnish you with some notes that might have suggested new ideas. Should you hereafter think it worth while to send me such a list, I shall send the remarks, general or particular, that may have occurred in the course of reading or reflection. I thought you would have drawn on me before this time for the observations on Cotton Mather; but your delay makes me dilatory, & I fear I am beginning to grow lazy,—a vice terrible to the pen and the blotting of paper.

Whenever your stock of materials will permit, I could wish you would enter quite minutely into the personal figure & appearance, the striking external peculiarities, & the meanest details of the private life of your personages. These, tho' apparently trivial, are the most attractive parts of biography, such as gratify curiosity most, and give the truest idea of character.

Will not the work suffer by this interruption to its course? So far as I am concerned, I have some apprehension that this may be the case. A garrison town seldom continues long in one stay; and some may have got the first volume who may be gone far enough before the appearance of the second. I regret still more on your own account this intervention of other business, as it is far easier to pursue a work in detail than to leave it off and return to it again after a lapse of time. I have a demand for two copies more of the first vol., which you may send by the first good opportunity.

The Indians, the present subjects of my warmest research, seem to have of late escaped your notice. Is the hatchet buried, and the pipe of peace in general use? Have you had any conference with your literary General, or gained any new information from the two missionaries among the Oneidoes? As you are now a member of the Society's board, I wish you would propose to request John Kirkland to give you the best account he can of the traditionary morals, proverbs, or vulgar sayings of the Indians under his charge, tracing with some care what may be called the natural religion of the sylvan state. I recollect Dr. Thacher mentioned an idea of this kind; it would no doubt meet his concurrence, & would be highly pleasing to John Kemp & the good people of Edinb^r; and there could be no harm in letting me have a reading of the result by the way.

Have any new books made their appearance lately relative to this subject? I expected from Brother Clarke

the second vol. of your Transactions. He has set a copy apart for me; and I shall be much obliged to you if, by your means, he may find an opportunity of sending it. I want greatly to see General Parsons' paper on the Discoveries in the Western Country.* Can you give me nothing recent about the Creeks, the Chactaws, or the nations of the Sioux at the head of the Mississippi?

I have no time to say more. The Postmaster has been so good as to let me know that some small vessel is bound somewhere to the Continent, and that there is a passenger for Boston who will carry a letter; but the messenger has added that there is no time for delay, and therefore I have just spread this sheet to let you know that all your letters & parcels are safely arrived, the books distributed, and the purchasers well pleased,—without having arranged in my mind what I had to say more, either relative to that or other topics.

The Life of Smith has attracted much praise, and is truly very ably written.† Good judges have spoken highly of the talents of the writer, and wish he had always good subjects to employ his pen.

Whenever a direct opportunity presents, I shall write you largely and regularly, and send a parcel for which I have been long waiting a certain conveyance.

Meanwhile I beg you to believe that I am highly gratified by hearing from you; that I consider the recent interruption of communication as a very heavy inconvenience, and shall expect letters as often and as long as the state of things will permit.

Mrs. Brown joins me in kind regards to Mrs. Belknap & all the family. Offer mine to all ancient friends, &

* The reference is to a letter from General Samuel H. Parsons, giving an account of his "Discoveries in the Western Country," printed in the second volume of the "Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences." — Eds.

† The Life of Captain John Smith was printed in the first volume of Dr. Belknap's "American Biography." — Eds.

believe, my dear Sir, that in peace and in war, in wealth & in poverty, I shall ever remain

Your faithful friend & affectionate brother,

ANDREW BROWN.

P. S. Will you be so good as to tell Mr. Elliot, at the first Saturday's dinner after the receipt of this, that I wait with impatience for an opportunity to answer his kind letter. Assure him meanwhile of my best regards.

Will you let me have a copy of the History of Maine by next opportunity, and you shall get money some time?

MICHAEL JOY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

Rev^d Dr. Belknap, Boston.

PLAY HATCH, 10th Aug^t, 1794.

DEAR SIR, — I know not whether I am most obliged by the rich entertainment you have sent me, or the very polite manner in which you have set it before me. I have read with much gratification this first vol. of your American Biography, & regret that any cause should interrupt the progress of so promising a work. The reasons you assign for adopting the chronological arrangement fully shew the propriety of it. Many strong objections to an alphabetical order will suggest themselves to every reader.

I am sorry that your expectations were not answered in the sale of the History of N. Hampshire *here*. I put it into the hands of several of my friends, & had the satisfaction to find them all concur in opinion that it was a work of very great merit; but it cannot have escaped you that no publication obtains *a run* here (as the booksellers phrase it) unless it is forced into notice by innumerable & very expensive puffs.

In your proposed collections of devotional poems I

hope Addison will not be forgotten. He will not, indeed, contribute many, but the few he has are valuable. By the way, I have never turned over any version of the Psalms without extreme disgust at reading of wrath, vengeance, & other vile passions attributed to the Deity:

“ And from his nostrils went a smoke
When kindled was his ire.”

Should not all this be *extinguished*? I think, too, the less is said of the sons of Jacob, the better; they were a vile set; & I am partly inclined to Dr. South’s opinion, that God chose them as Socrates did Xantippe, *to try his patience*.

Whilst you are wisely building a house for yourself, I am repairing & altering for others, without expectation of occupying more than a year or two the house I have lately entered. I am at this moment up to the elbows in brick & mortar, — an employment I should like better were it less expensive. I am deliberating whether to fix my future residence in England, or go over to America. Whether here or there, I beg to assure you I shall always be, with much & sincere regard, dear S^r,

Y^r friend & m^o hble. serv^t,

M. Joy.

It may afford you some entertainment to search out a family of the name of Rice, of Sudbury, from whence some of them removed to Worcester (Massachusetts). It will furnish remarkable proofs of American longevity. Of a large number of brothers & sisters one only (I think) died under 70, — 2 between 70 & 80; 2 between 80 & 90; and some held out more than 100 years.

ANDREW BROWN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

*The Reverend Dr. Jeremy Belknap, one of the Ministers of Boston.
With a parcel in the care of Mrs. Peters.*

HALIFAX, Aug^t 20th, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received your late letter, giving an account of your becoming a brother of mortar and brick with sincere pleasure, tho' I should have been *as well pleased* to have heard that an overseer to superintend the gentlemen of the square and plummet would have left you at leisure to pursue your literary researches.* Your industry rouses and animates my drooping diligence. The knitting-work gives a most favourable idea of your indefatigable activity. After the various toils of the day and the week, to be able to go coolly to work collecting & arranging, and rectifying and compounding, such a variety of poetic effusions, bespeaks a mind that no difficulty can repress in its career of usefulness. And from such a temper I augur good of all your works, and expect to have the sincere pleasure of congratulating you on their final completion.

The news of the terrible visitation your city has had by fire are most afflictive.† Boston has really been more than usually unfortunate in that respect, notwithstanding all the attention of her citizens, and the very wise associations they have formed to prevent the ravages of that powerful element. The late calamity was too near your church, which I am happy to hear escaped by a kind of

* Dr. Belknap had recently bought a lot of land in what is now Lincoln Street, and begun to build a house, into which he removed in the latter part of the year. (See 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. pp. 348, 351.) — EDS.

† A serious fire broke out in Boston at about a quarter after four o'clock, on the morning of July 30, 1794. "Its rapidity was astonishing, catching from building to building with such velocity that in the space of 3 hours upwards of 45 dwellinghouses, stores, and shops, besides large quantities of furniture, a vast number of stables, &c., fell a sacrifice to its fury." (See Independent Chronicle for July 31, 1794.) In Dr. Belknap's interleaved Almanac are the names of nine members of his congregation whose houses were burned, besides a considerable number who lost stores and other property. — EDS.

miracle. May I not flatter myself that it has not approached the site or materials of your intended building? Mr. Russel's loss must be heavy, yet it appears in no degree to have affected that manly generosity of nature which is the prominent principle of his character.* I sympathize with him most sincerely, at the same moment I admire his magnanimity and beneficence, which this dispensation has exhibited in a new light. This misfortune will no doubt contribute in the end to the improvement of Boston. It is an opportunity afforded to your citizens for the display of public spirit and good taste; and I firmly believe they will embrace it.

For some time past I have known little of the internal affairs of the Union, or of the literary productions of your scholars. Indeed, I have been afraid that too much prosperity would be apt to intoxicate your people. This is the most fortunate period America will ever enjoy, if wisely used. By the state of Europe and the West Indies you are become the granary of nations. Agricultural labours are suspended in other lands. Maintain peace, preserve a righteous and impartial neutrality, restrain democratic societies, let the people respect their gov^t and confide in the wisdom and patriotism of their governors, and you must flourish and be happy.

Among other acquisitions, you have gained Dr. Priestly & a fresh importation of Socinian principles. The philosophical talents of that gentleman, I should hope, would be more acceptable than his religious tenets. In England he was a violent man, and did proceed without regarding persons, places, and circumstances. But I am told he has derived benefit from experience, and has set out fairly with a profession of great moderation. Like other emigrants, he will doubtless find it much easier to be a colo-

* "Mr. Russell's large store and a number of stores on the wharf" were among the buildings burned. Russell's Wharf was at the foot of Atkinson Street, now Congress Street. — Eds.

nist at an European fireside than in an American forest. "Blessed work this," said one of the settlers in a new township to the surveyor who was laying it out on paper. "Blessed work! why, you can do more in an hour, single-handed, than all our folks together in seven years." Do you suppose the Dr. will be pleased with the change in continuation?

Your affairs in the University are long ago amicably settled, I trust, and the youth recovered to a sense of duty & the habit of subordination. Have any singular talents lately made their appearance among you, or any promises of superior genius? No strange broacher of systems, it is to be hoped, will disturb your peace with absurdities. Massachusetts is a strong barrier against the wilder sectaries. It would be a double crime in your people, considering their advantages, to give into the follies we hear reported of the less cultivated parts of your general government. On these articles I should be glad to have a little information when you write. I pay implicit respect to your reports, and am disappointed when your avocations do not permit you to write at large.

I am, indeed, fully sensible of your friendly disposition, and your great goodness has perhaps given rise to unreasonable hopes on my part. I have received much pleasure from the correspondence, & as yet I fear the returns on my side have been scanty, as well as meagre. However, the time may come when it shall be in my power to be a more interesting letter-writer, & meanwhile I shall not forget my obligations.

The opportunity by Mrs. Peters was so favourable that I have returned the first vol. of Neale & the pamphlet on Kentucky. I have added the Patriot, agreeably to ancient promise, and a copy of the paraphrases of the Church of Scotland, which I hope will be peculiarly acceptable at this time, as it may furnish some gems of sacred poetry for your Collection of no ordinary lustre. I have marked

none. Your own judgement and taste will distinguish. All are tolerable; many are good; a few are of a very superior quality, — the first of the kind I ever met with. Make my kind regards acceptable to my respected friends, Mess^{rs} Clarke & Eliot, whose names you will find on the other books. I [regret] exceedingly it has not yet been in my power to write [to the] latter. Our packet is just arrived; every one is busy; and in one piece of intelligence I take peculiar pleasure, that Mr. Jay's mission is expected to answer its intention, that of preserving peace.

You will see by the enclosed, that, with all the vigilance of your gov^t, I have scouts in all quarters in search of the Indians. I commit the letter to your judgement and discretion. If you think it will serve the purpose with which I wrote it, pray be so good as to recommend it to Dr. Ramsay; but if you have any doubt of his readiness, suppress it. I am enough of a Scotsman to dislike being denied. "Indeed, man, I canne away wi't." Yet I should hope this jealousy is unreasonable.

Mr. Blowers & the family are well. But it is quite late. I almost forgot to tell you that I am again a daddy, and that the mother and little boy are in a good way.

My best wishes attend Mrs. Belknap & the fireside. Being always, my dear Sir,

Your faithful friend,

ANDREW BROWN.

Dr. Belknap.

N. B. By the tenor of the queries to Dr. Ramsay, you will see the kind of information I want. If you would take the trouble of sending some of the same cast to Kirkland and Sargent I should be sincerely obliged to you, and thankful to them for their answers; not forgetting to make a favourable report in Ed^r by a channel which should have weight.

CHRISTOPHER D. EBELING TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

*To the Reverend Jeremy Belknap, D. D., Minister at the Church in
Federal Street, Boston, State of Massachusetts.*

HAMBURG, Sept. 20th, 1794.

REVEREND SIR, — I should not have delayed to answer your very kind letter, accompanied by so many valuable, usefull presents, had I not been in hope to be able to send you at the same time the second volume of my Geography. The impression was unexpectedly stopt by public business of the printer, who is at the same time printer of the Senate, and I cannot wait till it is finished to shew you my heartfelt gratitude. Your American Biography is a very interesting and instructive work, and will allways increase in these perfections as it reaches modern times. How much light may we expect from you in the Life of a Hancock, Franklin, and so many other worthies of America. I hope soon to send you some little contributions, whereof you may collect a few gleanings for your first volume, as I believe you have them not in America, because they are very scarce even with us. Some of them I have ready; others I have written for to Italy. These are *Elogio Storico di Colombo*, Parma, 1781, gr. 4^{to}; *Marco Lastri*, *Elogio d'Amerigo Vespucci*, Firenze, 1787, 8.; *Ricerche storico critiche circa alle Scoperte d'Amerigo Vespucci*, Firenze, 1789, 8., da *Franc Bartolozzi*. Besides these, I have allready for you Life and Letters of Vespucci, published by *Bandini*; Life of Martin Behaim, by *Murr*; *Toze's* Proof that Columbus, and not Vespucci nor Behaim, was the real discoverer of the Continent in

* Christopher D. Ebeling was born in Hildesheim, Hanover, in 1741, and became greatly interested in everything relating to America. In 1794 he was elected a Corresponding Member of the Historical Society; and from that time he wrote frequently to Dr. Belknap. He died in 1817; and after his death his large and valuable library was bought by Israel Thorndike, and given to Harvard University. An interesting letter from Ebeling, with an account of his great work on the Geography and History of America, is printed in 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. viii. pp. 270-276. — Eds.

America, 1761. These I shall send by the next opportunity. I hope that the unhappy disturbances commerce suffers by the war shall not hinder me to get also the others soon. By all that I shall not think myself released from my debt to you. I wish to know in what way I could be serviceable to you. That would give me courage to avail myself of your kind offers; now I fear to be troublesome to you. When I treat of the History of the Aborigines of America, in my General Introduction, (which several reasons induced me to reserve to the end of my publications, tho' it will make out a volume of itself,) I should be glad if you would allow me to send you a short abridgment before I publish it. I have Hubbard, Mather, etc., but suppose there are still other sources of information, especially about the wanderings or changes of abodes of the Indians, and their languages. I hope to find much in the excellent Collection of the Historical Society which I am studying now.

This Collection will give much light to your history and geography, and the Southern States should vie with her, and willingly impart what materials they have preserved. I am sorry that I did not enjoy the use of these treasures when I published my book; they would have prevented my falling into many mistakes. But I shall do my best to avoid them in a second edition. This reminds me of a singular mistake which I find in a translation of a letter of mine inserted in the *Columbian Centinel*, where the translator speaks of a second edition of my book, which does not exist, nor in the least was mentioned in the German original. He also let me say that I made use of all Mr. Morse's editions, tho' I expressly declared that I had not seen the newest edition of 1793 but when I had printed all the sheets except the Preface, when Mr. Williams from Boston was so kind as to lend me his copy for a few days before his departure. The translator, not being a German, but a Danish gentle-

man, may be easily pardoned these faults. Otherwise, I am glad this letter was known with you, for I hate nothing more but literary ingratitude.

Your excellent History of New Hampshire meets with the due applause in Germany, where I introduced several copies. In the Göttingen Review (published weekly in two sheets) it has been reviewed with great applause, as well on account of the materials as the true elegance of historical stile. I cannot get the newest volumes, having only one copy complete myself. For one copy I want *volume the second and third*; for another, I want *volume the third*. Perhaps you could help Mr. Kahler and Müller to procure them. He will pay every expences. One is for the public library at Göttingen, and the other for that at the University at Halle. I also am searching in vain for Dr. Wigglesworth's Calculations of American Population. If two copies could be obtained, I should be glad to have them. In case you find out these for me, I beg you will send them to Mr. Müller, with a note of the price, which he will be so good as to pay immediately. I had begged him to procure me the American Apollo, as I thought there were some valuable materials inserted now and then; but I fear it is not to be obtained complete, and single sheets cannot be of great use to me. Is it in your opinion a valuable collection for my work, so I shall enjoin Mr. Müller to redouble his inquiry for a complete set? Perhaps the Boston Gazettes for some years before the Revolution war and the first years after its breaking out may give good information, especially in the public speeches, orders of Assembly. During the session of the Assembly at Concord I suppose the newspapers were printed there. Should it not be possible to get them at a tolerable price? The Journals of the Assembly, if they are printed, would also be a valuable acquisition.

What I wish much for is the Lives of Hancock, Sam. Adams, Otis (I was told he died by a flash of lightening,

but cannot find out when, and whether he was recovered before from his sickness of mind); more particulars about Bernard, Hutchinson, Oliver, Gage, are certainly to be found out at Boston. Here we are in the dark, as the British withhold all light by very natural reasons. I am sorry that my language is not much known in the Northern States; otherwise, it would be easy to supply my defects and point out my errors. A Dutch translation is now printing at Haarlem in Holland, and as soon as peace is restored a French one will appear. I gave the Dutch translator many corrections, and shall do so to the French, who lives here.

The friendship of the worthy Mr. Barlow, from Connecticut, who lives now at Altona, next our town, is very dear and usefull to me. He gives me many instructions about your country, and its history in modern times. Unhappily, my description of Connecticut was allready printed when I made his acquaintance, but I shall add his emendations at the end, and reprint some sheets entirely. I had made some use of Peters's History of Connecticut, but was aware of his enraged partiality, and also noticed many of his falsities. But I had not supposed him to be so fictitious as both your warning and Mr. Barlow shewed me he was. You will allow me to quote your authority, as well as Mr. Barlow's, in order to caution my readers against those parts where they find Peters's name quoted. The book had been translated into German by one of our best political and geographical authors, Professor Sprengel, and got undeserved reputation. My book, I hoped, should make it fall; but your judgement shall annihilate it entirely.

Excuse the prolixity of my letter, and accept once more my best thanks for your kindness shewn to me in so very conspicuous a manner. I have the honour, &c., with great esteem, reverend Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

C. D. EBELING.

P. S. I am now occupied with addressing myself to those gentlemen you have indicated me; to Rev. Dr. Stiles I had already written, as also to Dr. Barton; from this last I have hopes to get valuable materials for natural history, which he kindly offered me. To Dr. Ramsay I had also written some time ago. His excellent Histories I possess. The General History is even translated into German.

I intend to print some questions to be laid before the promoters of my work, and to add to each copy what materials I am already possessed of to find out answers for them. This I hope shall help me to be cautioned against suspect authors, and lessen the trouble of my informers. If you would communicate to me what essential changes time may make in your topographical part of the description of New Hampshire, that would do for this State.

The Transactions of your learned Academy I received thankfully. I have already the first volume, but should be glad to procure a complete copy of them for the library of the University of Göttingen. I long ago wrote for them to Mr. Kähler and Muller, but they have not sent it me. These gentlemen will pay the bookseller of the Academy for that copy, and forward me it.

When I was about closing this letter I heard from the great misfortune that befell your city. I hope to God it is not so dreadful as related, and you and your house has been preserved. As we have a very excellent regulation concerning the extinguishing of fire, and never since memory of men there was burnt more than a single house, tho' fires happen very often to break out, I shall send you a copy of this regulation. Perhaps it may give usefull hints. There is also just now discovered in Stockholm by Assessor von *Aken* an undoubtfull manner to extinguish the greatest fire in a very short time by a composition of vitriolical salts. Many public proofs made under authority of government evince the effect. The

inventor communicates it for an equitable reward, under condition that it is not made public. I don't doubt he will publish it himself in future.

You have heard perhaps of the great advances the French make in Holland, and beyond the Maas. They have beaten the Duke of York twice in two days, the 20 and 21 of September, and drove him as far as Nimvegen. The Austrians were defeated at three places, driven out of their fortified camp near Maastricht on the 17, near Liege on the 18, where General La Tour lost his camp and canons, and many Austrian regiments were almost ruined or annihilated; a third victory they gained on the same day near Limburg. Aix la Chapelle is occupied by the French. On the other side the Prussians have dislodged the French from Lautern, where these lost several thousands, or rather hundreds, as the official account of Prince Hohenlohe mentions only 600 killed and 50 prisoners. The siege of Warsowie is raised. The insurrections in South Prussia, the want of ammunition intercepted by Kosciusko, and the ravages of the flux greatly reducing the Prussian army, as also the heavy losses in the nocturnal attacks of the Polish, have forced the King to desist. We hope for peace, as England did not succeed with her infamous negotiation at the Court of Vienna to hire 100,000 Germans, and the Emperor is willing to make peace. Only the second stubbornness of King George is an obstacle; but as Holland is quite defenceless, he must yield, it is presumed.

ANDREW BROWN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Reverend Doctor Belknap, one of the Ministers of Boston.

HALIFAX, Febr^y 6th, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR, — You do indeed deal nobly by your friends, and for one, tho' as yet unable to requite your

favours, I am not insensible of the obligations you have laid me under. By this assurance, however, you will mistake me much if you shall conceive that I thus mean to cancel the debt, and enter with new alacrity on a new score. 'Tis indeed too frequently seen that in the intercourse of the world the phrases "I thank you," "I am obliged to you," are designed as a general liquidation of old accounts, and a kind of full pay for past kindness. But on the present occasion I do not use them in that sense; and tho' the account must be continued, I hold no part of it discharged by bare acknowledgements.

The box by Dr. Peters was most acceptable in all its contents. Your attention to my pursuits in sending me Dr. Williams was highly grateful; his views with respect to the Indians came in aid to some of my own. The occasional pieces furnished out an agreeable entertainment during the darkness of winter; and even the newspapers had a value.

The Chief Justice was very sensibly impressed with your unremitted attention to his request, and bears Mr. Baker on his mind in the manner you suggested. Such services exceed the usual measure of friendship, and, admitting of no adequate reward, the satisfaction of exercising benevolence must constitute a great part of their retribution.

I find by last arrivals that your press has been very busy of late. Mr. Clarke's Answer to the Question, *Why are you a Christian?* has found its way to Chebucto, and given me great pleasure. Its merit I shall hope will make it a great favourite with the people, and shorten the duration of Paine's miserable Age of Reason. Our friend Mr. Eliot's Sermon pleased me much. In the midst of political schism, his voice, like his Master's, is heard above the storm, whispering peace and unanimity & piety.

The reader of Mr. Osgoode's Sermon, which has also

cruized along to Halifax, would readily conclude that the influence of gov^t was limited in Massachusetts. I do not remember to have seen such a bold criticism and unqualified censure of a proclamation in any discourse delivered publicly in obedience to its authority. Mr. Osgoode is doubtless a man without fear. Mr. Adams will not thank him for his *ex cathedra* suggestions, tho' they may be very current in common conversation.

In your last papers we see notices of a commercial treaty between G. B. and the United States ; as interested in the prosperity of both, I sincerely wish that such a treaty may take place, so well guarded, arranged, and settled as will give mutual satisfaction, and be productive of common advantage to all concerned. Under such an alliance we shall probably be still more closely connected in a national capacity, a circumstance which experience convinces me adds great facility to private intercourse, by withdrawing restraint and making communications more confidential.

In perusing all the newspapers and magazines of the States that I can lay my hand upon, I am surprized to see no regular journal of the proceedings and operations of the Indian army, nor any communication of value since the engagement at the Miamis rapids. It seems strange that none of the officers' letters are published, and no account given of the appearance of the country, the incidents that engage attention, and the progress to what I should conceive the ultimate objects of the expedition, the re-establishment of peace and the conciliation of the affections of the tribes. The Indian war seems to be an object of as little interest on the seacoast of the States as an irruption into the Mahratta country by Tippoo Saib would be in an inland village of Great Britain.

Your good friend Mr. Blowers has sent to me a small bundle of your historical discourse, and your Foresters, for which there is here very little demand. They shall

wait your order, as I do not suppose there will be any great difficulty in sending them down if you shall so desire.

Having had no direct communication with England for ten weeks past, we know very little of the literary events of our country. Indeed, Halifax has been rather unfortunate in its literary importations. A collection of books from which I had promised myself much entertainment has failed to come. We have had but few of the occasional and fugitive pieces of the last summer. I expect some from Scotland in the spring, and if I should not be disappointed you may expect to see anything that will promise to be at all entertaining.

When I receive the Historical Collections without a line from your pen, I feel a sensible mortification, and would take it kind if your leisure permitted you to send but a short note with any news. I am sensible I have no title to complain on this point, as I have not been so regular as you had a right to expect. You may be assured, however, that such omissions did not arise from want of inclination, but from the same cause which see[ms] to have shortened such letters as have come from your hand. But Dannery, I trust, has no more title to put a seal or name, worse than a postage, on the communications of friends who meddle not with politics, and give themselves no concern in their correspondence about parties. In prospect of the new treaty, too, I trust we may look for a clearer atmosphere and happier times.

Tendering my own and my wife's kindest regards to Mrs. Belknap, yourself, and all your good family, I beg you to believe that I ever am, my dear Sir,

Your very sincere & faithful friend,

ANDREW BROWN.

P. S. I have resolved to send the needful with Dr. Peters to discharge my debt for the Historical Collections & other books, and mean to leave this with him to take advantage of the very first conveyance.

ANDREW BROWN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Rev. Dr. Belknap, one of the Ministers of Boston. Honoured by Dr. Peters. With one pound Halifax currency.

HALIFAX, March 16th, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote you very lately, and have met with nothing since to induce me to write again but the departure of Dr. Peters, who very kindly acquainted me that he would carry any communication to you, and continue to act as formerly in the capacity of a mutual conveyancer. His resolution to leave us has been suddenly taken, and is to be carried into execution to-morrow morning. I had imagined that he would have staid a month or two longer, and given me an opportunity of making up a little parcel I mean to transmit you.

Yesterday brought us the January packet, but no news of importance. It is possible there may be a partial pacification in the course of the summer. But Great Britain is preparing for a busy and efficient campaign. May God prosper it in such a manner on our part as to induce the enemy to sober and temperate conditions of peace.

We have had nothing lately from America; and our West India intelligence has been remarkably barren. There will no doubt be considerable exertions there in the course of the summer, and our vicinity to the scene and interest in the result will make us anxious to know the progress of affairs.

I have received the last two numbers of the Historical Collections, and am sorry to find they are only to appear quarterly. From the intrinsic value & curious nature of the contents, I should have supposed that Massachusetts alone would have afforded ample encouragement, as well as material, to publish them monthly. They will, however, come forth now in a more respectable form, and

offer a greater variety of intelligence to the miscellaneous reader.

The enclosed newspaper announced a report from the Secretary at War that must have been curious to me, and I was well pleased to see the discussion into which it had led you. Sheltered under Generals, one may venture anything. The Secretary has surely not been sufficiently explicit.

Any news from Charlestown? I find it a painful expectation, and often disappointed, that depends on the industry and humours of others. And excepting in one or two instances, indeed principally from yourself, I have received little material help in consequence of application. The Bishop of Canada tells me the details of his diocese prevent him from entering into the subject. The farm, the merchandize, or oxen, always interfere.

I send by Dr. Peters one pound Halifax currency on account, and shall be glad to know how I stand by first opportunity.

With my own & wife's best compliments to Mrs. Belknap and the family, I ever am, my dear Sir,

Yours most faithfully,

ANDREW BROWN.

Dr. Belknap, Boston.

Mr. Blowers and the family are well. Your wife's great friend, Miss Kent, often remembers her with pleasure. Gov^r Wentworth has met the Assembly with great cordiality. Nothing stirs here; we are all contented & quiet.

ANDREW BROWN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

*The Reverend Dr. Jeremy Belknap, one of the Ministers of Boston,
N. England.*

LONDON, May 25th, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR, — Long before this can reach you, the news of my removal to Europe will doubtless have excited your surprize. The summons, indeed, came on a sudden, and we were as much unprepared for them as our other friends in America. We knew that our relations would not fail to interest themselves to get us established nearer them, but we knew also that the race is not to the swift, nor success to the powerful, but that times & tides beyond the foreknowledge of mortals dispose of the wishes and the projects of men. We therefore were careful to discharge the duties of our situation, (for *wife* is always joined in everything relating to domestic arrangement,) and to cultivate the friendship of those we loved, trusting to the Supreme Disposer the allotments of an unknown futurity. In these circumstances, enjoying a pleasing intercourse with Boston, and flattering myself that from political events it would become more frequent with Dr. Belknap, the packet brought me the news that a presentation had been given in my favour to a church and parish in a very desirable part of Scotland, where there is a genteel society, and a ready access to the seats of learning. The forms of our Church required my immediate presence to facilitate the settlement, and submit to those regulations which have been provided on such occasions. Hence the same packet which brought the intelligence was to convey me and my family to Great Britain; and the shortness of her stay in Halifax made the interval one continued scene of hurry and agitation. To dissolve a connection which had subsisted with uninterrupted harmony during the space of eight years, to bid adieu to a place where I had enjoyed many comforts

and spent an important period of my life, but above all to bid farewell to a kind, affectionate congregation, and leave them without a minister of their own profession, were painful circumstances, which in my situation created a variety of feelings. In the midst of these reflections, however, I had to settle my affairs, dispose of my effects, and get everything ready for the use of my wife and child during a hazardous voyage at a very critical period. You will not be disposed, I am certain, from this account of the matter, to think hard of my leaving your continent without communicating my destination, and bidding you God speed in form. You were not, however, forgotten, and I do assure you I pleased myself with the fond idea that the change of place, the increase of distance, would produce no abatement of friendship, tho' it might lessen the number of opportunities of corresponding with each other. Of one thing you may be well assured, that if anything I can say, or anything I can write, may be of service to extend your fame and the circulation of your writings, your fame shall be extended, and your writings more widely diffused, because I think they deserve to be so. I love your person and character. I retain a just sense of the obligations you have conferred on me, and shall be well pleased to have it in my power to requite them to you or yours.

Now that I write from London, you will perhaps expect to hear the particulars of the voyage. Very fortunately for me, it did not abound with incident or adventure. Our progress was rapid. A thick fog served as a convoy. We saw few vessels, and not even the appearance of an enemy, till the morning of the last day we were at sea. Happily she turned out to be an English frigate, and to the pleasure of this discovery added the very acceptable intelligence that there were no cruizers to intercept us on the coast. Twenty-one days changed the scene from America to Europe; from the rear of winter we were

transported to the bloom of spring. We saw England to the best advantage, and in our journey hither passed thro' a region of enchantment with which I am certain you would have been fascinated.

We found in England quiet, unanimity, and military preparation. The return of peace is still uncertain, tho' much to be desired on honourable conditions. The world, I think, has had enough of blood; but bad things need only a beginning. When the parties are wearied of fighting, how difficult is it to get gracefully out of the lists?

Either from the numbers of men taken from the operations of agriculture, the consumption & waste of war, or a denial of the usual increase of the field, there is a scarcity of grain in most countries of Europe. I believe provisions have not for a great while been dearer in Great Britain than at present, and the poor, it is said, never found greater difficulty in procuring a decent subsistence. Last winter was quite American, and much severer than ours in Nova Scotia.

Of the state of the Continental powers I have not learned much. Indeed, I have had no leisure to seek news or study politics; nor is my appetite so keen that way as it has been. I foresee, too, that it will be necessary for me to ponder the advice of the town clock of Exeter, "Mind your business!" I have projected much; it will remain now to execute something.

I have been seven days in London, and till now have not had a moment to spare. I write this to convince you I have not met with any waters from Lethe's fount, and do not mean ever to taste of a cup filled there to lose the remembrance of my friends in Boston. Among these you know how highly you are ranked, and I wish you would help me to contrive means to insure at least a stated intercourse by letters twice or thrice a year. Several ships go from the eastern parts of your Common-

wealth, particularly, I believe, from Casco Bay, Falmouth, & Portland to Greenock, and these, I think, you might make the carriers of a letter and small package of pamphlets or other tracts. You may also write by way of Halifax directing to me, to the care of William Forsyth, Esquire, Merch^t, Halifax, to go by a private opportunity, and your letters in that case would be sure to find you [me?]. Other conveyances too, unknown to me, will from time to time occur in your own port, and I request none may be omitted. Perhaps it will now be in my power to make more interesting returns than formerly. I shall still be desirous to receive any American productions, either in print or manuscript, that has a reference to the subject of my R[esearch]es, and if you will continue your good offices that way you will confer [on me] an essential obligation. Make my kind regards and those [of my] wife acceptable to Mrs. Belknap and the family, and believe that [if] in the vicissitudes of the future any of them may pass thro' Scotland, they will find in my house a home for the time. As I shall have no leisure to write my other friends, I must content myself with requesting you to remember me most kindly to them all. Tell Mr. Eliot and Mr. Clarke that I shall expect to hear from them soon. You will have many news to give me. Do not scruple to fill your sheet. You will easily conceive that I shall always take a particular interest in the affairs of America, and feel a singular pleasure in hearing of what happens there. I know of none better disposed or better qualified to give me that gratification than yourself, and from your past steddiness and punctuality I augur much in favour of the future. For some months my address will be Dr. Brown, care of Thomas Cranstoun, Esquire, Writer to the Signet, Edinb^r. You will hear from me again before it can be necessary to change it. This letter is to be deposited in the New England Coffee House for the first safe conveyance to Boston. Let it

carry my kindest regards to you, and convince you that I remain with unabated esteem, my dear Sir, your much obliged and very faithful friend,

ANDREW BROWN.

Rev^d. Dr. Belknap.

CHRISTOPHER D. EBELING TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

To the Reverend Dr. Belknap, Minister of the Church in Federal Street, Boston. With several books by the kind care of Mrs. M. Müller and Kühler.

HAMBURG, June 6th, 1795.

REVEREND SIR, — The departure of a ship for Boston was so very lately announced me that I had but a moment left to fill up the box with books and maps for you and several other friends, without being able to write to you and many other worthy gentlemen to whom I am indebted so very much. I only can acknowledge the receipt of your very kind favours of Feb. 10, 11, 12, the honour bestowed upon me by the celebrated Historical Society, Mr. Freeman's favours, as also Mr. Morse's, and Mr. Pearson's. All them I shall answer to this evening, and hope it will reach you at the same time with this. Otherwise I shall send it by the post via New York. I am exceedingly sorry that I must appear unthankfull in not answering so very kind letters immediately, but I was made believe the ship would sail but in 5 or 6 days.

I am, with great respect and gratitude, reverend Sir, your very much obliged and obedient servant,

C. D. EBELING.

You will get with this letter, 1) *Elogio di Colombo*. 2) *Toze on Columbus*, in German. 3) *Murr's Life of Behaim*, in German. 4) *Maps of Holland, Germany, and a plan of Hamburg* for the Hist. Society. 5) *Copies of my book*, 2^d vol., for you, the Academy of Arts, and the Historical Society.

CHRISTOPHER D. EBELING TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

HAMBURGH, June 28th, 1795.

REVEREND SIR,—It was very unlucky that I was obliged to send the books which you will have received from Messrs. Muller and Kähler without being able to write to you. I was so very late made acquainted with the departure of the ship that it was quite impossible to write more than a few lines. At present, being recovered from a fever, I shall not delay my duty, for really a duty, and a very agreeable one, it is to shew you my inmost sense of gratitude for so many proofs of your great kindness, for your very instructive lettres, and for your generous assistance in the researches about the history of your country.

I received the several parcells with your lettres of the 10, 11, and 12th of February, together with the books you mention therein, wherefor I return you my best thanks. All of them are very wellcome, and I shall not fail to make the best use of them in my power. But, dear Sir, you forgott to mention what I owe you for these books, and as Mr. Muller brought none to my account I fear he has not paid my debt, which I remember him not to neglect; for I would by no means be still more troublesome to you, as your enquiries about them are already accompanied with so much loss of your time. I only wish I could be serviceable to you here in any way, and you may rely upon my best exertions to execute your commands.

The great honor your Historical Society has bestowed upon me requires my utmost gratitude. Not knowing whether is usual to adress the whole honorable body, in order to assure them of my sentiments, and not being able to do it in a stile worthy of them, I beg you will add to your many proofs of kindness towards me that of assuring the Society of my most respectfull thanks. The

honor I enjoy now shall be a great incitement to me to make myself worthy thereof as far as I may be able. I suppose the Society will not take it amiss that I have offered them some few maps lately published in Germany, and I take the liberty to join a few more; and as I suppose they are collecting all the books published about America in our part of the globe, I shall endeavour to find out such as are published in Germany. Tho' very few of them may give new information, yet they belong to complete the collection, and there may appear in future descriptions of travels through your continent, whereby you may see in what light a foreign traveller has viewed it. Perhaps future travellers will not be so much prejudiced as one of my countrymen, Mr. Schoepf, a physician, shewed himself to be against America. Some old books written in Latin in the 16 and 17 century about America are occasionally to be found in auctions, and I shall be attentive to get them.

I am now printing the third volume of my Geography. According to your advice, I send a copy of the second to the Reverend Mr. Bently at Salem. As than I was prevented from writing to him, I take the liberty to inclose a letter. The French translator is returned to France, from whence he emigrated in the direfull time of Robespierre. He intends to publish his translation there if he can find a bookseller who will print it. I wished he had written it here, where I could afford him more assistance, and given him more emendations. As soon it appears I shall procure copies to be sent for you and other friends and fautors.

I was happy in receiving these days from the worthy President Stiles an uncommon proof of kindness; he sent me, besides a very polite letter, a History of Connecticut, and very good materials for that of Rhode Island. The first is very elaborate, accompanied with a map and extracts of public records for the ancient times. I hope to

make soon use of this treasure in my American Magazine, which is now printing, as I cannot in the first edition of my book, which was allready finished. He recommended me Callender's Sermon, which owe to your kind care.

Mr. Barlow, who is yet here, but soon will leave us, was today with me, and recommended a young Englishman who wishes to translate my book. If that was practicable I should think myself happy, tho' I than should appear before you and other citizens of America with all my numberless faults. But as sincerity is the way to amendment, I shall not refuse. This would make it easy to my friends to find out my errors and omissions.

If you will be so kind as to send me some copies of your History and Biography, I shall not fail to sell them as well as possible.* A circumstantial review of both will soon find place in my Magazine, when you will see how very highly I esteem these works. Some other American productions of the historical and geographical kind will sell, but not *many* copies, as our translators immediately appear with their abridgments or translations, which are cheaper as the originals, especially when the book is not voluminous.

The treaty you communicated to me gave me great pleasure, as it is really founded upon principles worthy your Constitution. I hope it will be followed allready by another with the Western Indians. I am in great ignorance about the particularities of the events of the war with them, as I am so long without complete newspapers from America, because all those I get from Philadelphia (I get three sets) are taken by the Helgolanders, and not yet delivered. The ship was saved by them from the ice, and they pretended an enormous sum for their assistance. Neither has Mr. Muller sent me those of Boston.

* Be pleased to fix the price in dollars. — *Marginal note by Mr. Ebeling.*

Mr. Perkins will be very wellcome to me. I have not had the pleasure to see him as yet.*

Your hints about several points of [illegible] the American history shall be duly attended to. You will see in the Epilog of my second volume why I could not avail myself of those you formerly sent about Peters's novel, as all was printed allready. But the Epilogue warns the reader against it far more than several of my notes in the book itself could do, where I only suspected his *uncredibility*.

We have peace in the northern part of Germany, even on the Rhine, where I hope there will be a mock fighting only, in order that the Emperor may cheat the English Ministry for some millions of subsidies more. Even the Emperor's brother, the Elector of Coln, was the foremost in requiring serious measures to hasten the conclusion of a peace.† Our nation is intirely against the continuation of that execrable war, notwithstanding great riches flow into Germany from all sides. This makes a great rise of victuals, house hiring everywhere. Rich emigrants from France, Holand, Netherlands, Poland, resort to us, especially to Hamburgh. Our commerce increases astonishingly. Yet our merchants wish for peace, where all is more sure, and riches not so anxiously to be preserved as now, especially against English piracy. The alliance with Russia is only terrible upon paper. The first Russia fleet may appear in the end of July, but not the second, which is not yet existing, and money exceedingly scarce there. The Russian politics see farther than to assist England very seriously.

The Hanoverian country is in a ridiculous odd situa-

* Thomas H. Perkins, of Boston, who was at this time in Europe, made a journey to Holland in the spring of 1795, but he did not visit Germany. In a letter to Dr. Belknap, dated Paris, June 20, 1795, he wrote: "While at Amsterdam, I had thoughts of going to Hamburg, but circumstances prevented that excursion. It would have given me pleasure to have made an acquaintance with Mr Ebeling, but I have now given up all thoughts of a tour to Germany, & of course of seeing your friends." — Eds.

† His late vote and remonstrance is in very uncommon hard expressions against the belligerent members of the Empire. — *Marginal note by Mr. Ebeling.*

tion. It has concluded a peace with the French clandestinely, and the army knows nothing of it, yet is removing to its several quarters in their country, *quasi re bene gesta*. The brave troops and sensible officers were forced into the war. Now the government is much vexed how to get rid of the French Emigrants who intruded themselves into the country, and even recruit themselves there. It is but lately that they succeeded in forcing them to a better discipline, notwithstanding they commit many extravagancies. The Hannoverians still occupy the country of Ritzebüttel, yet without arrogating to themselves any exercise of government; the Hambro garrison is there undisturbed.

There are rumours of a war that is to break out between Prussia and Russia, but I suppose without foundation. The fate of the remains of Poland and the unhappy King is still undecided. It is evident that the Emperor is not to partake of the booty. He in the mean time is not meddling much with government, leaving it to the Ministers. The late execution in Hungary, where a terrible conspiracy against royalty was to break out, costs the live to several men of parts, and true patriotism as far it may be without respecting the constitution we live under. I am convinced they intended only to limit the power of the King. One of them, who was only transported because he had not yet sworn allegiance, is here in Altona, and seems to be a good man. The Hannoverian government published an order that he should not settle in their country, as was the report he would. He is one of the best German veterinarian physicians. More you will find in the French newspapers I send you.

I wish this letter may reach you in the best state of health, and beg you to be persuaded that I am, with sincere thankfulness, reverend Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

C. D. EBELING.

The books I sent you by the last ship, sailing in the beginning of June, and directed to Messrs. Müller and Kähler were the following.

1) Life of Columbus and Doria, in Italian. 4to.

2) Life of Martin Behaim, in German. The book is entirely to be relied upon, as the author is a very learned, inquisitive man, and has access to the records of Nuremberg. It is a refutation of Robertson's idea that Behaim was a name of nation.

3) Toze's Proof that Columbus was the real Inventor of America, not Vespucci nor Behaim.

4) The second volume of my book for the Society and also for you.

5) Maps of all the Netherlands, United Provinces, the seven particular Provinces, Rhenish Circles, Westphalia, Lower Saxony, Germany, Treves, etc., for the Society.

I hope to be able to send new ones very soon.

6) A plan of Hamburgh, for the Society.

The review of the American Biography in the Gotting. Anzeiger, or weekly Litterary Gazette, is an extract of 5 pages, according to the method of the Gazette, where they, tho' very shortly, use to excerpt what is new and remarkable; the plan of this valuable book is exhibited according to the title; the learned Preliminary Discourse abridged, especially what is said therein about the streams naturally carrying ships from N. W. Africa to America, the quotation from Glas's Account of Madeira. The history of the following men is related with great exactitude: 1) Biron, who is also called Biorn, Biörn, etc. These last two names, Biorn and Biörn, are the true ones according to the ancient Northern dialects.* 2) Then follows a short extract of the names, with some remarkable circumstances, especially of Soto's. Mr. B. proves that Soto could not

* I may add, even according to the present, *Biorn* is a bear in Islandish language. Björn (pronounced Beyorn in one syllable) signifies the same in Swedish. — *Marginal note by Mr. Ebeling.*

be the author of the fortifications. Your arguments are inserted. Fuca's Relation. There is excerpted what you related from Cpt. Gray's discoveries. Some remarks and the principal chronological *data* are taken from the following Lives.

I regret that single sheets of this review are not to be had, else I should sent them. I was mistaken in saying that your History has been reviewed. They had it not complete. The 2 and 3 v. I lately sent them. I doubt not it will be reviewed, as they seldom omit to announce books of particular value as soon as they have them. Indifferent books seldom find a place in this really learned Review, and bad ones never; so that we reckon it as a proof of a book's value to be mentioned therein.

JOHN WENTWORTH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

HALIFAX, 24th July, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,—The multiplied importunities of urgent business have lately interrupted the gratifications derived to me from private correspondence, and among others prevented my writing to you as often as I wished. I will no longer be restrained, however, from so pleasing an intercourse, more especially as it is, & has been, some time my wish to express to you the solid comfort resulting to me in these distracted times, when the mighty power of France is madly employed to destroy our religion, & thereby bury social order, with all its beautys & blessings, in barbarian ruins, from recollecting a sermon you preached at Dover, in N. Hamps., when I reviewed a reg^t of militia there. In that discourse you convinced me that the kingdom of Christ required not arms for its defence or support, nor could possibly be subverted by them. From that hour my mind was satisfied, and I now am fully persuaded that the French unexampled efforts

to exterminate Christianity will not only be frustrated by the decrees of Heaven, but that it will be more signally established & extended by their malice, & of course that safety, benevolence, & all the other endearing charitys of life will still be preserved under that great shelter. Thus, altho' I see the ruinous torrent deluge many countrys, yet I am persuaded that bounds are set to these devastations which cannot be passed. Where these bounds may be appointed cannot be foreseen. I most devoutly hope beyond the Atlantic, and that the pestilence may not prevail in America. It would be a sin truly diabolical to plunge in darkness & horror the fair prospects which now shine on the American Union.

In the course of your studys relative to the history of New Hampshire, it is possible you may have met with some papers or anecdote concerning my family. If any have occurred, or that you can procure for me, they will be of great use & most exceedingly oblige me. Especially the X'tian name or names of the Wentworth that came first to New England, their first residence & subsequent removals, & family descendants. Whither the first bro't familys with them, & their names, &c^a, with their derivation (if known), also mine from them, as well as can be collected. I know not how to apologize for asking this favor, w^h is very interesting to me. But in your kindness & friendship I trust for excuse, and in your extensive information for success, which will be thankfully considered by, my dear Sir, your sincere friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

P. S. Shou'd any expence occur in procuring copys, searching records, *or otherwise*, I will gladly repay it.

J. W.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap.

JOHN DAVIS TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

PHILA, 14th Novem., 1795.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have for some time been convinced that it was my duty to write to you; and it is a duty which the sincere and cordial interest which you have expressed in my welfare, and the respectful regard which I have for you, will not permit me any longer to omit.

Your letter to Dr Barton procured to me an agreeable and valuable acquaintance. I frequently visit him at his Bachelor's Hall, and now and then take a cup of coffee with him, surrounded with books, bottles with insects, the bones of the mammoth, and other evidences of his ruling passion. His acquirements are certainly very respectable for his age, for he is not yet 26. Looking over his books I observed several folio volumes, handsomely bound in red morocco, and lettered on the back, "Herbarium Americanum." I observed it was a work I had not before seen, and asked leave to look into it. I found it to be a collection made by himself of plants and flowers nicely pressed & preserved and pasted on the leaves of the volumes, with a short description under each specimen of the habitation of the plant, time of flowering, peculiar properties, &c. It is a very amusing and valuable collection, which he has already extended to 50 volumes. I borrowed of him, and have partly perused, a narrative of Ferdinand de Soto's expedition into Florida, said to be written by one of his companions. It is a rare book, which Dr. Barton found accidentally in England, and which has strong internal marks of authenticity. Dr. B. thinks it would be well to republish it in our Collections, and for this purpose offers the loan of it, and will add

* Judge Davis was afterward President of the Historical Society, and for many years a member of the Federal Street Society. A memoir by Rev. Dr. Convers Francis is in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. x. pp. 186-203. — Eds.

some explanatory notes of his own. You will please to suggest to me your opinion of y^e expediency of complying with this proposal. If there should not be a press of original matter, I think it would be well to multiply in this way the copies of rare and antient books relative to this country, which may not be generally interesting enough to support a sepearte publication.

My brother, the Treasurer, reminded me lately at your request of my proposed account of Plymouth. Thinking it might be done at any time, it was too long neglected, till I was called from that classic ground where I not only felt the best disposition, but could more conveniently, by a recurrence to records, &c., do justice to the subject. I fear I must now abandon the business, tho' with regret. I had some conversation with the Rev^d M^r Willis of Kingston upon the subject before I left Plym^o. If he should undertake the business, as I think he will, there will, I am sure, be no reason to regret that I should have abandoned it. Any assistance that I can afford him in my present situation shall be chearfully given. I do not know what leisure for such occupations or amusements a greater familiarity with the duties of my office will allow to me, but at present I am obliged to be almost wholly employed in official engagements.*

I borrowed a half hour a few days ago to attend one of D^r Rush's lectures, to which he had previously invited me. It was an essay avowedly phisiological, but partly metaphysical and theological, on Man, the principles of life and means of its support. It was ingenious and interesting, and delivered in a style and manner peculiarly his own, and which commanded the unremitted attention of a numerous audience. Life, says the Doctor, may be called a forced state, depending on the successive application of stimuli. These stimuli he enumerated under a division of external and internal. The first were Light, Air, Sound,

* At this time Mr. Davis was Comptroller of the United States Treasury. — Eds.

Heat, &c.; the latter, Food, Drinks, Passions and Affections of the Mind, &c. It is the theory of y^e late D^r Brown, whose book, D^r Rush observes, contains much sterling ore with a profusion of dross. The lecture was interspersed and I think enriched with many moral and religious sentiments, elegantly and strikingly expressed. After premising the importance of his subject, and exhibiting the most striking and interesting characteristics of man, and suggesting the thorough and intimate view which he should take of him in the course of his lectures, he closed his introduction with observing "that he should attempt an analysis with awe of that nature which had been assumed by the Son of God, and entered upon his subject with that reverence which a devout man ought to feel when entering the Temple of his Maker."

D^r Barton expressed a wish to me to forward certain drawings of animals, &c., executed by him, to M^r W. D. Peck. To accomplish his views I offered to send them to your care, not doubting you would readily forward them by some safe conveyance to M^r Peck. I have put them on board the schooner Pomona, Cap^t Geo. Gardner, who will sail for Boston tomorrow, & have directed them in such a manner that I hope they will not fail of coming safe to hand. It would be agreeable to D^r B. that you should open the roll and examine the drawings before they are sent on to M^r Peck. He desires me also to mention that he sent not long since a donation of books, pamphlets, &c. to the Hist. Society, which has not been acknowledged, and which from that circumstance he is apprehensive may have by some means miscarried.

Please to tender my regards to M^{rs} Belknap & the young ladies, to D^r Thacher, M^r Elliot, and our other mutual friends.

Yours respectfully & with much esteem,

JN^o DAVIS.

Rev. D^r Belknap.

BENJAMIN S. BARTON TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

To the Rev^d Dr J. Belknap, Boston.

REVEREND & DEAR SIR, — I acknowledge, though indeed very late, the receipt of your two letters by M^r Davis, and also your letter by Dr. May. I feel myself much indebted to you for bringing me acquainted with M^r Davis, whom I often see, and with whom I have spent many agreeable hours. I have not seen D^r May since he left this city on his journey southward. He appeared to be an intelligent young man.

You may be afraid, dear Sir, that I shall not lose sight of the Lives of Clayton, Bartram, &c. I cannot be as punctual as I could wish to be.

•I fear that some drawings which were transmitted to your care, for our friend M^r Peck, are lost. M^r Davis tells me that he ordered them to be left at the Treasury Office.

I am, dear Sir, with great respect, your most obedient servant & friend,

BENJAMIN SMITH BARTON.

PHILADELPHIA, December 17th, 1795.

BENJAMIN S. BARTON TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Reverend Dr Belknap, Boston. Fav. by M^r Coleman. With a book.

REVEREND SIR, — Your letter was safely delivered into my hands by M^r Coleman. I thank you for the papers on the canker-worm.

My drawings have sailed back in the Pomona to Philadelphia. I shall take some future opportunity of sending them again for your inspection, and for the inspection of our friend, M^r Peck.

Mr Coleman will deliver this, together with Hogan's State Tryals. This book was actually marked off for the Society several months since, but in the hurry of business I neglected to send it. I shall be glad to have the Society's publications upon the conditions formerly mentioned to you.

I have just time to subscribe myself, dear Sir, your sincere friend, &c.,

B. S. BARTON.

PHILADELPHIA, January 7, 1796.

P. S. I have heard of a poem on the Conquest of Scandinavia, the prospectus of which has been *printed*, if not published, in your country. I shall thank you to endeavour to procure for me a copy of this prospectus, the cost of which I shall cheerfully pay.

CHRISTOPHER D. EBELING TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

HAMBURGH, Oct. 1st, 1796.

REVEREND SIR, — Your very kind letter of { Dec. 2^d, }
last year, I have got but these days, but the contents are not the less precious for me. Every letter from your kindness is accompanied with so many marks of your friendship that I am quite at a loss how to shew my gratitude. Your maps are very instructive, and give me quite another idea than what I took from newspapers. I have Carey's Guthrie, but tho' I learn from this book, it gives not allways satisfaction. The Collection of the Historical Society, I say without flattery, is the only source wherein one *may drink deep*, as Pope says; so few others, as Tench Coxe, Jefferson, and your New Hampshire. May we not once hope for such a description of Massachusetts from your hand? That would be a valuable present to the world.

Your Summary Account I shall make the fundament of my researches about the N. W. Territory. I owe you much gratitude therefor.

The Collection of the Historical Society is particularly instructive to me. I beg you will give them my best thanks for their kind communication of them. Be pleased to offer, as a small, indifferent testimony of my gratitude, the inclosed maps, which make a beginning of an American Atlas published under my care. I join a copy, which you may occasionally offer to any citizen of New Hampshire who is at leasure, and might be inclined to honour me with his most severe criticism; the same I wish from you. The grants marked + signify that they were made before the Revolution. They are taken from Holland's map. The townships inclosed in () are not to be found in the census of 1790. Those marked with a *line* are the most populous according to the census. As soon as six maps are completed, I shall join a memoir giving an account of the materials and authors made use of in the construction of each map. The county division in New Hampshire is taken from your map. Connecticut is particularly taken from Blodget's and De Barres's map. Now there are engraved Vermont, Pennsylvania (according to Howell), and Maryland from Griffith.

At the same time I add a few maps on the new theatre of war, which I beg you will accept of.

If there should appear any new map of Massachusetts and Maine, you will be so kind as to lett me have it. Mr. Kahler will pay the expenses.

We have scarce any good news here. Our unhappy country, the southern part of Germany, is laid vaste by French insubordination, but far more by the execrable barbarity of the Austrians. The French allways kept excellent discipline when victorious, but not at all when routed; but the Austrians never, tho' they are in friend's land. You will hear by the newspapers of the great vic-

tories of the French in Italy, where Wurmbser's whole army is annihilated, and of the precipitate retreat of Jourdan's army in Germany, after having obtained so signal victories. The cause of all this is by no means the power of Austria, which is almost at its last stake, but the entire want of subordination in the French army when out of battle or of military employment. Eye witnesses tell strange stories of this point. Peace is yet very near. The French refuse to treat in general, but will admit of particular treaties. England, the great object of execration throughout Europe next to cunning Russia, will enjoy the happiness of peace the last. It may be for the happiness of trading nations if this nation is somewhat humiliated. Prussia was in a fair way to subjugate Nuremberg, and even the Hanse towns; but happily France has saved us, as it certainly is an article of the treaty with Prussia to keep the free constitution of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen *in salvo*. Danemarc continues to enjoy all the happiness of a well governed republick, tho' it is the most absolute monarchy.

You are happy in having taken no part in European wars and destructions. We cannot but admire your government, tho' we don't approve of many articles of the last treaty with England. That with Spain is far more honorable to both parties. But peace is seldom purchased at so high a price.

Hamburg enjoys it at the expence of a great contribution to the French (the sum is not known), and of another to the Emperor. But our trade is so extensive, and so encreasing, that we may bear it. Only excessive dearness is our complaint, but we have about 10,000 inhabitants more than before the war.

I will not keep you longer from your business, and shall finish my letter with the assurance of respect and esteem, wherewith I am, reverend Sir, your most obdt. servant,

C. D. EBELING.

My last letters to you were of May 2, 1796, accompanied with two parcels; a larger one of them contained 3 copies of my 3rd volume. The forth is not yet printed entirely; it contains Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland.

SALARIES OF THE MINISTERS IN BOSTON.

	Salary pr week.
D ^r Howard,	£4. 0.0
Subscribed, 1795,	120. 0.0
Two collections for wood & house rent.	
M ^r West,	3.12.0
Additional grant £150 pr. ann.	
House & wood.	
D ^r Lathrop,	4.16.0
30 cords wood, sawed. £45 to house rent.	
D ^r Thacher,	7. 4.0
House & wood.	
M ^r Eliot,	4 10.0
To wood & to house, £60.	
D ^r Eckley,	4. 0.0
House & wood.	
1795, additional grant, £100.	
D ^r Clarke,	4. 4.0
Grant £90 pr. ann.	
House & wood, 30 cords.	
M ^r Freeman, £250 pr. ann. 25 cords wood.	
D ^r Morse, £3.6.0 pr. week.	
House & wood, 20 cords.	
Grant, 1794, £100.0.0.	
Subscription, 1796, to be continued, £135.0.0.	

J. T. Kirkland, £225 pr. ann.

Grant 1795 & 96, £60 pr. ann.

Most of the gentlemen find their salaries & grants insufficient to their support, & are obliged to avail themselves of other resources.

Indorsed by Dr. Belknap, "Salaries of the Ministers, B^o." *

ANDREW BROWN TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

*The Reverend Dr. Jeremy Belknap, one of the Ministers of Boston,
N. England. In the care of Mr. Leach.*

LOCHMABEN MANSE, Feb^y 25th, 1797.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — A long interruption of intercourse, a new state of being, and the various incidents which the progress of life unavoidably creates, had in some degree hid you from my eyes, tho' they could not alienate you from my affection. Your letter has awakened all the zeal of friendship. I rejoice to hear you are still employed on your honourable literary pursuits. I rejoice to hear that the favour and patronage of America summon you to the task of superintending new editions of your books, and shall be well pleased if in the land of my nativity I can be of the smallest use in promoting your interest or extending your fame. Of the system of profession, I entertain but a mean opinion. Friendship does not need to employ it; and by employing it hypocrisy only provides for its own detection. The confidence which you repose in my good will towards you gratifies me in a very sensible manner, and I hope that you will have reason to be assured that it is not misplaced.

* Neither the memorandum nor the indorsement is dated. The memorandum is in a hand with which we are not acquainted, and was probably drawn up in the early part of 1796. When Dr. Belknap was first settled over the Church in Long Lane he received \$8 per week; from Jan. 1, 1790, his salary was \$10 a week; in 1793 it was \$12 a week; and from Jan. 1, 1796, it was \$18 a week. — EDS.

Your letter, tho' written in the end of Oct^r, did not reach the stillness of this abode till the beginning of last week. It had been unfortunate in its progress. When it arrived in London, your friend Mr. Leach was busy in exploring the manufactures of Scotland. Doomed to wait his return to the metropolis, I was deprived in course of the pleasure of conversing with Mr. Leach, and of taking those measures to secure, before his departure from Britain, a satisfactory answer to your enquiry. The subject as you have stated it is of considerable magnitude, and will necessarily require circumspection and accuracy. A printer of character and credit must be selected for a business of so much responsibility, and the whole of the articles included in your enumeration determined with the most correct precision. No time shall be lost, you may believe, in ascertaining every particular specified, and I shall flatter myself, notwithstanding the heavy duties on paper lately imposed in this country, and the present unprecedented rise in every branch of the bookseller's department, my report will be so favourable as to make it worth your while to order a Scots impression of your works. The British paper appears to me to be of a much finer texture and colour than the American. Work here is done in a better style than in the general run of your presses; and I should suppose the difference in binding must be prodigious.

Cut off in a great measure from communication with your State and city, it was with surprize that I saw in an idle publication, a Missionary Magazine, a report from you and the successful geographer of the United States respecting the remnant of the Oneida nation. Are you as fat as when I knew you? for, to tell the truth, I was disposed to smile at the idea of the good-natured Dr. Belknap sweating in the heats of summer, and smarting under the bite of millions of musquetoës, in a religious progress to the tribe of the cylindrical stone. This, I

suppose, is your furthest excursion in your own country, and tho' a native many of the scenes must have been new. Did you keep any journal of your feelings and reflections, naïf and artless as they rose in the mind on the spur of the occasion? * *Candidus imperti*, and my gratitude shall be yours. The different stages of cultivation in the country, and of knowledge and refinement among the inhabitants, as you quitted the coast, would indeed be previously familiar to your thoughts. But the extent of such a tour would itself present you some variety of landskip and character, and the real Indian country must have been a novelty even to you. From the knowledge I have of the history and state of the Indians, I am little surprized at the result of your visitation. We have corrupted and destroyed the Indians. Infected by our vices, they have lost the rude virtues of their pristine condition. Hardened and debased by the work in which we have employed them, their moral feelings are seared. We have inured them to the shedding of human blood. Europeans & Americans have paid them by turns for working by the day and year in the trade of murder. Their connection with us has steeled them against the moral influences of Christianity; and contemplating the havoc which we have made of all that is good and noble in the minds of these unfortunates, can we wonder that they equally abhor our civilization & our religion? But let us not, after having thus depraved and brutified, and, if I may be allowed the harsh expression, damned them to barbarity, in imitation of other tempters, become their tormenters also. Were we to use harsh and violent measures against them, we would only punish crimes of which we ourselves are the guilty authors, and add to the guilt of seduction the misery of exterminating the victims of our criminal passions.

* Dr. Belknap's Journal of his tour to Oneida was printed in the Proceedings of this Society, vol. xix. pp. 393-423. — Eds.

To your tender & generous nature these observations are unnecessary. Your general gov^t has recommended itself to the favour of the good by assuming the patronage of the tribes. To its tribunals, if necessary, let offenders be brought, for they will find justice tempered with mercy from upright men elevated above the prejudices of the place and the day. But let not the jurisdiction of your separate States be extended over the freemen of nature. Let not your Judges of Districts, taken from the people, touched with all their feelings and swayed by all their passions, sit as jurors on an Indian assize. Subject not, in the name of Heaven & of humanity, the untutored Oneida to the criminal Statute Book of New York. Your laws were not made for [him]. He cannot plead his motives and his justification at such [a trial]. If possible, let his own brethren be his judges. Let the head [men] of his village try him by their own maxims & customs. An Indian execution might be an act of justice, & would operate as an example. But an American one would be felt as a new aggression, an invasion of just right, an act of oppression, that demanded revenge. Give me your thoughts on these points.

What are become of the Historical Collections? It is long since I heard of them. Have any new books in my department made their appearance? Are any works of promise in a state of forwardness? Do the infidel effusions of Paine thin your churches, or furnish your flippant youth with old objections against Christianity, a thousand times answered before they were born?

Remember me affectionately to all friends. Return most sincere regards to Mrs. Belknap, and believe me, with unceasing friendship, my dear Sir,

Yours most faithfully, ANDREW BROWN.

P. S. I ordered by a most attentive friend in Halifax payment of the book you sent me and the Historical

Collections, &c. If the pressure of extensive and perpetual business did not drive it from his thoughts, I am sure my commission would be executed. But it would be pleasing to hear from yourself that it has been done.

HENRY W. DE SAUSSURE TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

The Rev^d Jeremy Belknap, D.D., Boston.

CHARLESTON, S^O CAROLINA, June 17, 1797.

SIR, — I have had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 26 April, wherein you inform me that the Massachusetts Historical Society have done me the honor to elect me a corresponding member of their respectable institution. I accept the election with great satisfaction, and I beg leave to offer through you my thanks to the gentlemen of the Society for this proof of their esteem.

It would give me great pleasure to contribute in any degree to the ends of this useful institution. But I fear that the materials in this country are not abundant, & that I shall not be able to add much to the common stock.

Perhaps I may be mistaken in supposing that the details respecting the productions of the country come within the scope of the enquiries of the Society. At present I cannot refrain from mentioning an important change wh^{ch} is taking place in this State in one of its important objects of culture. Indigo had for many years formed one of our principal staples. From some causes, partly known & partly unknown, the demand for that article has been diminishing, & the cultivation has de-

* Henry William De Saussure was born in Pocotaligo, S. C., Aug. 16, 1763, and after studying law in Philadelphia was admitted to the bar in that city, and also in Charleston. From 1794 to November, 1795, he was Director of the United States Mint. He then returned to South Carolina, and resumed the practice of the law, and in 1808 he was elected Chancellor of the State, which office he held until 1837, when he resigned on account of impaired health. He died in Charleston, March 29, 1839. — EDS.

clined proportionably. In its stead the culture of cotton has been extended to a degree & with a success as agreeable as it was unforeseen. The climate in a succession of seasons, varying considerably in heat & moisture, has been found to be favorable to cotton, especially on or near the sea-coast. Happily, too, the soil is found to be well adapted to it; and upon the whole the substitution is deemed advantageous in all respects. The labour necessary in the cultivation of cotton is less continued & exhausting than that w^{ch} is requisite for indigo; and it is more susceptible of aid from machinery. Cotton is an healthier object of cultivation than indigo, w^{ch} requires a process really chymical, & is productive of putrid & noxious effluvia. The article is more substantially useful, & at a very moderate price rewards the cultivator better than indigo at a price w^{ch} w^d be deemed high. You will not, therefore, be surprized at the declension of the one article & at the rise of the other, w^{ch} appears by the enclosed paper, the authenticity of w^{ch} may be relied upon. A skilful planter has obtained in favorable seasons 250^{lb} of clean cotton from one acre of the best soil, in the large way. But the average product scarcely comes up to 125^{lb}. One labourer may attend 5 or 6 acres of land, besides his own provision land. The price vibrates from one shilling sterling, w^{ch} is deemed low, to 18 pence, which is reckoned high.

Excuse, Sir, the details into which I have been unintentionally led. Should they furnish either information or amusement, I shall be gratified.

I am, Sir, with respect, your most ob^t ser^t,

HENRY W^m DE SAUSSURE.

[MEMORANDUM ENCLOSED.]

Account of Exports of Cotton & Indigo from the Port of Charleston, commencing 1 October, 1791.

	Cotton. bales.	Dolls.	Cts.	Indigo.	Dolls.	Cts.
From 1 October, 1791, to 30 th Sept., 1792	304	19726.40		2458 bbls.	1019754.40	
1 October, 1792, to 30 th Sept., 1793	336	26190.00		2271 bbls.	645384.00	
1 October, 1793, to 30 th Sept., 1794	568	44580.80		2157 bbls.	597918.00	
1 October, 1794, to 30 Sept., 1795	5291	304343.52		1217 casks	270399.08	
1 October, 1795, to 31 Mar., 1796, two quarters,	1501	119778.52		564 casks & boxes	118330.80	

The next two quarters, from 31 March, 1796, to 30th Sept., 1796, were very great. But I have not the precise amount.

The succeeding crop was still larger; and that now on the ground is immense.

GIDEON HAWLEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.*

The Rev^d Dr J. Belknap, Boston. Forwarded by Mr James Hawley.

MARSHPEE, Jan^y 1st, 1798.

DEAR SIR, — Having recently passed the boundaries of humane life, I retrospect my early & later years. In my infancy was an helpless orphan. My mother gave me birth and died a few days after. My other parent was left with six small children, but he also died before my remembrance. After the death of my mother her relatives for a month or two took me; but five months had elapsed before a suitable nurse could be obtained, when a young married woman, only nineteen years old, having buried her first child, took me to her bosom. I knew no other mother; and her husband, as I have been often assured, was equally fond of me. They both loved & pitied me. He lost his life by a wound, and died suddenly, leaving his widow with two children & pregnant. Under these circumstances it was supposed

* For a further account of the life of Mr. Hawley, see his letter, dated June 6, 1798, *post*, page 627. He died Oct. 3, 1807. — Eds.

that she could do no more for me. I was therefore (being under six years) carried by my oldest brother, recently married, from the grave of my foster-parent to that which was my father's family, where in a very disagreeable situation I spent several months. I honed after my mother, who had now added to her family by the birth of a posthumous child, but nevertheless had a maternal affection for me, and early in the spring I stole away to her, and she embraced me. I lived principally at her father's, who however died when I was fifteen, and was again cast upon Providence. By this time my mother had married a second husband, and was encreasing her family, but cherished an ardent motherly affection for me. Having arrived at the age of sixteen, my oldest brother, who was my guardian, boarded me while I fitted for College, which may be said to be the whole time that I lived with any of my father's family, excepting those few months above mention when I was six years old. All this discipline was to prepare me for that self-denying service in which I have spent my days. I might go on to observe that a loss which I most sensibly felt was the untimely death of my oldest brother before I was nineteen, and only a Sophomore at college. For he was my guardian. My foster-mother died after a few days illness, about 30 years since. The last interview I had with her was in the year 1763, when I found her and her husband in very affluent circumstances; he being an opulent farmer and in reputation. They had a number of promising children, who called them blessed. One daughter had married the minister of the parish, who was a worthy man, and I suppose to be yet alive and in his office. Let me, Sir, go on to observe that I have had two very amiable wives, who are not. My first bro't me 5 children, 4 of whom are alive. James is my youngest. My last died in August, leaving her third husband, and his bereaved family to lament her. She was never the

mother of any *own* children, but was a mother in Israel, & particular to my children. Our loss is great & irraparable. I have two children about me who are very attentive to their aged & afflicted parent. "They are near me, but not myself." "Survive myself, that cures all other wo." I design to inclose herein a few observations upon the Indian names of rivers and other waters. I am, with much esteem & consideration, Sir, your most humble servant,

GIDEON HAWLEY.

JOHN WENTWORTH TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA, 23rd March, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR, — An unexpected urgency requiring the immediate sailing of the brig E. of Moira, I have not a moment (w^h literally is my own), but I will snatch one wherein to thank you for your late very kind and acceptable letter, and to ask acceptance of the picture of my late grandfather which you mentioned.* It is an original, & well executed. I am much flattered by its intended situation among the good men of my native country, to which I shall never cease to bear an honest affection.

You will have received the European news by the Halifax packet arrived at N. York, probably, before it reaches us, & therefore it will be unnecessary to trouble you on that subject, if time remained, more than to assure you of the sincere regard & esteem of, rev^d & dear Sir, your faithful friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

P. S. I have directed to you a pamphlet published by the late Prov. of N. York relative to their contests with N. H. for Vermont. Possibly it may be acceptable for

* The portrait of Lieut. Gov. John Wentworth, to which reference is here made, is now in the Cabinet of this Society. — Eds.

your Historical Society's collection, to which I shall gladly embrace any occasions that may arise of contributing my mite.

J. W.

Rev^d Jeremy Belknap.

CHRISTOPHER D. EBELING TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

HAMBURGH, April 28th, 1798.

DEAR SIR, — I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of Sept. 20th, 1797. It would have given me great joy, as all what comes from such a worthy man and so very kind a friend, had it not contained unfavorable accounts of your health. I can very much sympathise with you, dear Sir, as my weakness has not yet left me, and as my father in his best years was afflicted with exactly the same case; but I wish our good God may restore you soon, as he did him, for he was soon established and lived to a high age, till 82, allways able to attend his duties (he was superintendent of the churches in Lunehburg), preaching twice per week, visiting the sick ones throughout the large town. May Heaven grant that and even more hapiness to you, whose well being interests not only your friends, your parish, but the whole literary world, and give you spirit and force to continue your excellent Biography.

I take the liberty to send you some books for the library of the Historical Society, as also the continuation of the maps of America for them and for you, together with the 4th volume of my book. I shall do my best to get copies of the third, in order to complete what has been lost. The book being out of print, my bookseller hopes to find still some copies in his magazine at Leipsic, where he is gone to. I shall then send them, together with a collection of new excellent maps, which you will please to accept as a small remuneration of your kind

presents, — amongst them the Forresters, which I have read with the same great pleasure as the first. It is not flattery when I say that I admire how you could pursue the well adapted clear allegory through this charming work, always maintaining the same tenor, if I may say so, of wit and invention, without deviating from the truth of history and reasoning thereon. The second volume of your Biography will be wished for by all friends of true classical history. I hope to be soon able to procure you the letters of Vespucci in Italian, which I had sent you in German, but were lost. A friend of mine travelling now in Italy will procure me them. Your researches, and the discovery of the first house in New England, are interesting.*

The Collection of the Historical Society should meet with more encouragement in America and in foreign parts. I subscribe for four copies of the new volume; could you also procure me a complete copy of the preceding volumes for the University of Göttingen, you would oblige the Inspectors and the learned in Germany, as they would immediately [be] announced by a review to our learned. I shall insert a long account of this praiseworthy institution in my next part of the American Magazine. Mr. Kahler has been required to pay the price of that copy of the first volumes, as also that of those of the new volume.

Dr. Morse has sent me his Gazetteer, which I have not yet had leisure to read and make use of, as I gratefully do. I wished the Doctor would have leisure or inclination to learn German, not only for my own benefit, as he could read my book, but also for his own advantage with regard to his European Geography, which I dare say has been cultivated very much by our German authors, and

* Dr. Belknap visited the island of Cuttyhunk in June, 1797, and records in his interleaved Almanac: "I there found the island in the pond where Captain Gosnold built his fort and house, 1602. The cellar remains." — EDS.

is daily getting new valuable supplements by great many able writers. Of Russia we have in one year got four large descriptions even admired and approved by Russians and by the Emperor (two of them I think with great right, as they are masterly). If he could make use of them his book would gain uncommonly, as no other nation has such a stock of geographical materials as the German; for you will find German in every country almost of the world, and we are forced by our manner of studies and trade to learn almost every language. At Göttingen, for example, there are teachers not only of all the ancient languages, but of the Portuguese, the Spanish, Italian, English, Danish, Sweedish, Hungarian, and even Russian language. In the library of that University (now estimated at 120 to 130 thousand volumes) you would find the most valuable books of every country in original. We have translators from every language, and rather translate far to much.

On mentioning translators, I remember not to have sent you a prospectus of my translator, whereof you will say, *Quid tanto dignum feret hic promissor hiatus*. The book I hope and fear will never be published. The bookseller at Paris and here quarrelled, and the translator with both, and for not to be involved I retired myself *en bon ordre*. A Dutch translation has appeared. I wished for an English or French only that my friends in America may be enabled to read my Geography and I may profit of their remarks and corrections.

Mr. Rigal is a very worthy man, who is happier than I that he made your acquaintance. We have here now the Ex-Duke of Liancourt, whose travels thro' America I hope to sent you soon in French. They are printing at Paris. I have read the manuscript allmost entirely, and it will be translated into German under my eyes. The work is very interesting, extensive (for it will be 5 volumes, as much is intermixed, taken from reports of the

Secretary of State, of the Treasury); but in general it is well written and pretty impartial. He is always ready to acknowledge what he finds excellent, and if he blames, he does it in a polite manner. Some or even many influences of national antipathy against the English, and the political part, I must except. The historical is also neither accurate nor ample.

Our political news are very allarming, for war will perhaps rage with new fury in Germany. The French Ambassador, Bernadotte, at Vienna hoisted lately a national flag before his house, with the inscriptions, Equality and Liberty, which the people took for a signal of introducing these new divinities. Vienna is at present quite ruled by monks, whose influence over the Empress is greater than ever, and she governs the weak Emperor. But all reports of the tumult show that the flag, etc. was intended to excite the mob. The military was not very forward in suppressing it, and 20,000 people are not so easily dispersed when provoked. Bernadotte intended to resist by force, and his men fired several pistols among the mob entering his house, after having broken the windows. At last the people were dispersed, the government exerted itself to quiet the French Minister, but he left Vienna the day after, April 13th, under escort of a company of carabiniers. He is now at Rastat. He as well as the governmēt dispatched courers to Paris, where the affair seems to allarm the city. The Emperor promises every reasonable satisfaction, but Bernadotti required the life of the leaders (the flag was broken down and burnt) and the dismissal of the Minister Pergen, who is director of the policy in Vienna, who exerted himself very much to quiet the mob, and succeeded at last. From Berlin they write that there is certain hope that all will be accommodated peaceably, but today we know from Paris that Bonaparte suddenly is departed for Rastadt. That is no good sign of peace. The French

army on the Rhine has encreased much, is in motion everywhere, and even advancing over the Rhine into Germany. They call themselves the Army of the Execution of the Peace! but this peace has not been concluded, and goes on with the usual slow formalities of our constitution. Heaven forbid the new commencement of a war! At Florence there broke out a conspiracy against the life of the Grand Duke. Happily it was discovered, and more than 40 have been brought to prison, mostly common people. The French Secretary of Legation send his letter of felicitation to the Grand Duke, there being no ambassador there at present. The French Minister who was formerly here, Mr. Reinhard (a German, and formerly a clergyman), a very worthy man, is gone from hence as French Minister to Tuscany.

You know what happens in Switzerland. The principal agent of that revolution, Mr. Ochs, is born in Hamburgh and lived long time with us. He is a man of excellent principles, and this is consolatory for me, as else I would think the revolution in Helvetia a common one occasioned by French revolutionizing *power*. The constitutions of Helvetia very [are?] mostly very defective, and some absurd. Such a medley of pure aristocratical governments, as Berne, and pure democratical, as Swiz, Uri, Unterwalden, could not form a durable confederation. Zurich was a mixed government, none of them founded in justice. The corporations of the trades in the capital governed the state, and of the peasants none were allowed to learn a trade, as they were forbidden to devote their sons to studies and learning, if ever so much inclined thereto. Graubundten, or the League of Grisons, had almost no government at all. They had *subjects*,—a republic with subjected provinces not partaking in the liberty of the state! These subjects were governed by monks, who exercised the right of asyle so far as to have a colony of murderers with them, who could purchase

their escape from revenging justice for *compensations*, which were given in part to the family of the murdered, in part to the monks. All this *may* be amended by the new constitution, if the French withhold their influence. We fear that before a peace with England there will be peace almost nowhere, except in the remote northeastern part of Europe. What will be with the new expedition prepared by the French in Italy and South France is a mystery, — to Egypt, as it is said, seems whimsical. Should it perhaps go to Trieste in order to overthrow the Emperor's reign, there are great many miscontents in all the states of the Emperor, and it could be an easy thing. Prussia will not intermix, and the Russian Emperor neither.

All what the young King of Prussia does shews a noble, exalted, humane, and firm character. I wish you read German, and I would send you the Prussian Annals published every month at Berlin, where there is great liberty of the press. They contain all his decrees, many letters full of that spirit of justice, moderation, and benevolence, which surpasses by far the government of Frederic II. in his later better years. The King's domestical life is that of a common gentleman. His Queen calls him my man, and even in letters, and he says my wife. He is working indefatigably and very active. Heaven preserve this character! He hates conquest, luxury, and the pomp of kings.

What will be of America? I hope you will have energy enough to avoid war. The loss of commerce for several years will not ruin you, but war would not restore commerce, and might bring on great ruin, state debts, and lay the foundations for future loss of liberty, as in England. Do n't you think I am in the right when I say the French Directory acts in everything as if it intended to reestablish royalty, and the English Ministry as if they would force the nation into a revolution? The selling of the land-tax seems to us the *ultimum refugium* of financier-

ing. The Irish Rebellion is as terrible as the measures to extinguish it, and the injustice of denying the rights of citizenship to the Roman Catholics. What do you think of the downfall of Popery? Injustice avenged by injustice! but notwithstanding a fortunate event if only true, pure religion would succeed to Popery, and not irreligion, or atheism and immorality. But quite abolished is this bigotry not at all; it will long reign in Spain, in part of Lower Germany, Hungary, and Poland. But wanting a point of union, it can be better overcome by enlightened religion.

The inquisition occasioned by the fall of the late King of Prussia's mistress, Countess of Lichtenau, showed clearly that the King's Minister, Wölner, and two Lutheran clergymen, Hermes and Hilmer, were about opening the way for Popery, tho' not intentionally, but misguided by Jesuitical influence. Their principal endeavours were to subject all the clergy to the old form of church faith and of implicit belief to prescribed dogmas not sanctioned by Lutheran doctrine. Even the Universities were forced to change their manner of teaching theology. Their best divines, Teller, Spalding, and others, were deprived of their employments. All has been restored, and the hypocritical Minister with his bigott adherents have been dismissed without a pension (says the King's order), as they were conscious by "what unjust and irreligious ways they had obtained their influence and places." Wölner had been one who procured to the King his mistress!

I could never finish this letter if I would give you a notice of the great *evenements* of our days. All is in a crisis, — states, religion, manners, manner of living, literature, sciences, philosophy especially, which in Germany was in danger to go over into old scholastical subtilities of metaphysics. Kant, certainly a man of great genius, has introduced his new system, which has

one great merit, that it shews more than any other philosophy the uncertainty of human knowledge, but is itself very positive in asserting its own principles as undeniable.

Excuse, dear Sir, my troubling you with all these things.

I shall rejoice with all my heart when I hear that you are better, as it will complete my most ardent wishes.

I am, with great esteem and respect, dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

C. D. EBELING.

I have taken the liberty to join a copy of my maps for Dr. Morse, having no opportunity to sent it to him in a single parcel. He will occasionally sent for them.

GIDEON HAWLEY TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

The Rev^d Dr Jeremy Belknap, at Boston. In case this letter goes into the mail, it is recommended to the particular care of M^r Hastings, Postmaster at Boston, by his most humble serv^t, Gideon Hawley.

MASHPEE, June 6, 1798.

REV^p SIR, — In my way to Pembroke I received your favor of 12th ult^o, and now answer your request, and inform you that I was born November 5th, 1727, O. S., at Stratford, in the county of Fairfield, Colony of Connecticut; was graduated at Yale College, 1749; February, 1752, commenced an instructor of the Indians at Stockbridge, particularly of the Mohawks, Oneidas, & Tuscaroras, who had come down from their country for the sake of Christian knowledge and the benefit of schooling their children. I preached to them by an interpreter, and kept a school. In 1753 I carried the Gospel into the country of the Six Nations, and made my stand on the N. E. branch of Susquehanna, N. lat. 42° 10', at place

named by the Indians Onohoqunghe (vulgarly Ocquango), where I continued till the war made it unsafe to continue in those parts; and I finally came to this place in June, 1757, and on the 8th of April, 1758, was installed a pastor of the Indian church & congregation at this place, having the inspection of two other congregations & churches of Christian Indians in these parts. In 1761, the war being pretty well over, I again went into the Indian country as far as Chenungo, now *Shenang*, on the waters of Susquehanna, and in 1765 went with M^r Morsley, a missionary, whom I left among the Indians at Ocquango.

Having observed above that the town of my nativity was Stratford, of which my progenitor, who emigrated from England about the time when Gov^r Eaton came, was an original and equal proprietor with any of its planters, will add that the particular spot where my father, who was of the third generation of Hawleys, settled was named by the Indians Poghquannuck, now Stratfield, which was incorporated* & made a distinct parish. On the east side it embraced that ground & river where Newfield flourishes. On the west is the eastern part of Fairfield; and Stratfield meeting, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from M^r Eliot's, is on the dividing line between Stratford and Fairfield, both which in those early days were very ample & extensive. The first minister of Stratfield was Israel Chauncy, graduated at Harvard College, 1661. At the giving of the charter for Yale College he was one of its first Trustees, and he lived till 1703. I knew two of his sons. Samuel Cooke, a son of Yale College, succeeded him. M^r Cooke was my minister, who died when I was at college.

Thomas Hawley, a collateral relation of the Stratford family of Hawleyes, was minister at Ridgefield in the county of Fairfield aforesaid, about 16 miles from Stratfield. He died before my remembrance. He left a

* I suppose about 1663. — Note by Mr. Hawley.

family of children. I suppose Thomas Hawley was uncle to the late Major Hawley of Northampton, and probably descended from Joseph, who was graduated, 1675, at Harvard.

As to the Stratford old-parish-ministers I cannot trace them further back than D^r Tim^o Cutler, afterwards of Boston. His successor was Hezekiah Gold, graduated at Harvard, 1719. Joseph Moss, another son of Harvard, was pastor of the church at Derby, up Stratford River, at the head of navigation. He was a Trustee of Yale College, and died in 1732; left no son, but had three daughters, whom I knew, and who all married clergymen.* Their mother, after she was a widow, married M^r Cooke, my minister. M^r Moss graduated at Yale College with the first class, having taken his first degree at Cambridge, 1699.

At Fairfield down to this day I suppose there have been a succession of Harvard graduates pastors of the First Church. M^r Eliot, the present pastor, can trace them. I can go no further than to Noah Hobart, whom I knew.

I can only add Antony Stoddard, a native of Charlestown, graduated at Harvard, 1697, pastor of the First Church in Woodbury, who, when I was undergraduate, was a Trustee of Yale College. He lived to a great age, & died, 1760. He left posterity, and I knew one of his descendents who was a minister and settled in a parish about Connecticut River, but died young. He was a grandson of M^r Stoddard, abovesaid. And, Sir, if you will have patience with an old man who is apt to talk of himself, I may inform you that there are now living and in office *four* clergymen, the descendents of the Hawley family at Stratford, viz. Stephen & Rufus Hawley, in Connecticut, and Gideon & his son James Hawley in this Commonwealth. But the Hawley family have not often been

* Elisha Kent, Eben. White, Jonathan Ingersoll, all sons of Yale. — *Note by Mr. Hawley.*

raised above the rank of yoemen.* A great-grandson of my father, viz. Daniel Hawley, Consul at the Havanna, a very promising young man, may be one of the few of our family who may be distinguished. In case anything worthy of your notice occurs, I will note it in a P. S. In the mean time, I am, my dear Sir, with much respect, gratitude, & affection, your companion in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ,

GIDEON HAWLEY.

N. B. Mr Eliot can write you of Jos. Webb, Jn^o Davenport, and Tho' & Step. Buckingham, all of Fairfield Co., and S. Shove of Danbury of the same C^o.

Rev. Dr Belknap, of Boston.

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO JEREMY BELKNAP.†

The Rev^d Doctor Belknap, D. D., Boston.

PHILADELPHIA, June 25, 1798.

DEAR SIR,—Your obliging favour of June 14th I received on the 21st; you will please accept my thanks for your kind attention.

* I cannot recollect that I ever knew any of our family [or hea]rd of any of the name who was a mechanick, unless a maltmaker or malster may be denominated one. I suppose my ancestor, the emigrant from England, was a malster. Several of the Hawleyes since my remembrance have carried on that business. My brother James did it in his life-time, and so did Gideon, my father, as I have heard. It is long since I was near the place of my nativity, and know very little of the present generation or their parents. What I have observed respects former generations. I suppose by what little I have heard that our family have emigrated into Litchfield County, New York State, and Vermont. There is a Gideon Hawley, a young man, great-grandson of my father, lately gone with his family to the extremities of Vermont. My father left three sons & as many daughters, who all lived to marry & have families. His oldest son, altho he died young, left five sons who are now all living, heads of families and grandfathers. His second son had no male heirs. I have only two sons, & both unmarried. My sisters were very prolific. Only one of them is left, nearly four score. I have had no brother since '75. I am solitary, but consoled by my children, & I have an excellent daughter with me, like Fidelia in the Spectator.—*Note by Mr. Hawley.*

† Mrs. Adams was the daughter of Rev. William Smith, minister of Weymouth, where she was born, Nov. 23, 1744. At the age of twenty she was married to John Adams, afterward President of the United States. She died in Quincy, Oct. 28, 1818. Her familiar letters to her husband have been twice printed. Mrs. Adams's letter here given was written five days after the death of Dr. Belknap.—Eds.

In reple to your question respecting Gen^l Eustice, I am informd that he is a native of the State of N. York, that he served in our army during the American Revolution, and was an aid to Gen^l Charles Lee. Being a young man of enterprize, after the peace he went to France, and obtaind a commission in the army of France. He was with Demouriez at the battle of Gemappe. Upon hearing of the President's proclamation of nutrality for the United Stats, he resignd his commission in the French service, and went into Holland, where he was taken up, his papers seazd, and he confined. He applied to my son to claim him as an American citizen, and he was accordingly released, and I have not heard of him after his going again to France, untill I saw in the publick papers that he had been a second time arrested as a suspicious person, and orderd to leave Holland. He has since arrived in N. York. I have heard that Mr. Murrey writes to his friends here that he is a man of tallents & much general information. I think he may [be] classd in the list of adventurers. I hear he is now in this city, but I have not seen him. His father is a Scotchman by birth.*

The President never owned Thurloe's State Papers. If he had them, they would be much at your service. In reple to your other question, the President says the convoys will depend upon circumstances. If the merchants apply for convoys to any particular destination, he presumes the government will grant them. How many millions of dollars might have been saved to the citizens of the United States if they had acted with energy and decision in the extra sessions of Congress the last summer!

* John Skey Eustace, the person here mentioned, was born in Flushing, L. I., Aug. 10, 1760, graduated at William and Mary College in 1776, and immediately entered the American army. After the war he practised law in Georgia for several years. Subsequently he went to Europe, and joined the French army, but did not remain very long in the service. On his return to this country he lived at Newburg, N. Y., where he died, Aug. 25, 1805. (See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography.) — EDS.

But we must not be taught and instructed, but beat into our duty, compell'd to it.

I send you, Sir, the last dispatch yet publish'd, and cannot but regret that our friend, Mr. Gerry, still persists in works of supererogation. Gen^l Marshall has done his duty, and deserved well of his country. Gen^l Pinckney, I fear, will find his continuence full of danger.

I am, Sir, respectfully, your friend and humble servant,

A. ADAMS.

APPENDIX.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO JOHN ELIOT.*

TUESDAY, May 1, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — Being at Portsm^o last Saturday I there picked up a letter which I was glad to see inscribed to me in your hand, & on opening it found it dated in February. Where has it been all this time? I have been wishing to hear from you, & more than that to *see* you here, as you gave me reason to expect last fall, but in this letter you say nothing about it. I suppose it would not be fair for me to conclude either that you had forgot it or had changed your mind merely from this omission, so I must wait for time to explain it. If I tho't you needed an invitation I would give you as cordial an one as ever Horace gave his friends, but instead of the Falernian wine, I can only invite you to cyder, with the addition perhaps of pork & greens.

So then it seems I am to pass for an Enthusiast among you gentlemen connoisseurs in cookery, because when I am fond of *pudding* myself I am willing to help my neighbours to a slice of it. Well, be it so. I have good company to keep me in countenance. Pray, how does Brother L——p

* Since this volume was published, a rough copy in Dr. Belknap's handwriting of his answer to Mr. Eliot's letter, *ante*, pp. 202-208, has been found by Mrs. Marcou in a bundle of miscellaneous papers, and kindly communicated to the Committee of Publication. As very few of Dr. Belknap's own letters have been preserved, and this is highly characteristic of the writer, it has been thought desirable to insert the letter in this place. — Eds.

pass among you? I guess he is rather more communicative than I am. However, if I had a mind to change my opinion I suppose I should but be a follower of good example; for your chief cook himself certainly told me no longer ago than the week of your initiation that he intended after boiling it over again, & tying it up in a new bag, to set it on y^e table; but now it seems people's mouths are set another way. By the way, I heard he was about making his exit, is it true?

Suppose I should tell you a story of an Indian squaw; you may judge for yourself whether it is *ad rem*. I shall run the risk perhaps of being laughed at, but I will out with it. "In one of Kirtland's first excursions among the Mohawks he fell into discourse with an old squaw, who asked him if they might ever hope to have the Good Book among them. He told her he had hope they would in future, but none at present. She asked him again whether the Good Book did not say 'Go teach these things to *all nations*'? to which he answered, yes. She asked him again, Have you got this Good Book among you? to w^h he also replied, yes. Then with an elated voice & solemn tone she said, How *dare* you then keep it from us?"

Now don't criticise upon this, but do as Brother Yorick advises, "let y^e heart fly out before the understanding & it will save the judgment a world of pains." If you call this Enthusiasm, remember that I learnt of you to love Yorick! But all this won't "bring conviction," & what will? Will reasonings *a priori*? Will conjectures & may bes & what ifs? No, this is an age of experiments, as we may easily see by the experiments that are daily making in politicks & philosophy, by the institutions & constitutions that every year produces, & has an experiment been made of the pudding? why my friend will tell me in one paragraph that "it has been managed with such success as to bring over many of the first divines in

New England," but in another that in *Old* England, that poor old rotten toe of Nebuchadnezzar's image, that wretched worm-eaten horn of John's seven-headed beast, it has not had so great success, for tho' "many dissenting ministers preach constantly upon the subject, yet men will have their own ways of thinking & there are deists in England." What can be the reason of this difference? Can it be that new things succeed best in a new country? or is it that clergymen are more open to conviction than other men? or is it not rather owing to the manner in which the thing is conducted? In y^e one country it is done openly, & in y^e other secretly, & men are fond of being let into secrets. My friend can tell me, if he will, (but I suppose he "will have his own way of thinking") whether Free Masonry itself would have so many admirers if it were publickly known, as it has now it is kept under the apron. Don't be angry, Brother Toby, for I do not mean to insult your hobby horse, but only to borrow him a minute for the sake of a simily.

"Experience," you say, "will best decide these things," but what shall we do when experience decides both ways? Why, then, we must in short try what manner experience points out, &, if I mistake not, we have *Ld* Chesterfield for it, y^t it is not so much matter what y^e thing is y^t is to be done as how it is to be done, & if secrecy is y^e manner y^e next enquiry is how to *stop the leak*, for if it should by means of a few such open hearted creatures as some that you & I know break out, what shall be done? Will all hands join in cleaving the passage & say, "Let it run, & I'll bear my part of the blame," or will some trim & twist & say, "It is none of my fault. I never tho't so. I never said so," & y^e like. Alas, if I were to judge by what I already know of some of the brotherhood, this latter would be the case, & when I consider this I am sometimes almost tempted to wish that it were my lot to live among a people who never knew any reli-

gion but what they had learnt from the light of nature. For I believe that the objections & prejudices of such people are much easier to be managed than those which are found among us.

But it will be "casting pearls before swine," & may not this be said of some of y^e peculiar doctrines of Xy w^h are every day preached. The light, gay tho'tless part of mkd. are not awed by y^e terrors of y^e world to come, nor allured by the sweet voice of mercy. The world will have its course, & the world always was & will be opposite to y^e truth.

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